MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE

OF

SIMON LORD LOVAT.

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SIMON LORD LOVAT;

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF, IN THE FRENCH LANGUAGE;

AND NOW FIRST TRANSLATED, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

THERE are no materials of history more valuable, and indeed few departments of historical composition more interesting and instructive than those details of important facts, which have been committed to writing by the persons principally concerned in conducting them.

Of this nature are the following sheets, originally written in French, by Lord Lovat, who was certainly no common personage. As his Lordship wrote them with a view to their being made public in due time, and the reasons which retarded the publication of these Memoirs no

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longer existing, the public are now put in possession of them, faithfully translated; without any further liberty being taken with the original work, than dividing it into sections, and adding the marginal dates and notes, by the Translator; who has to remark, that the genius of the Author may be clearly traced in the panegyric on the Intendant Rogeault, and the story of the Abbé Pouget, towards the conclusion of the work.

THE

GENUINE AND REMARKABLE

HISTORY

OR

MANIFESTO

OF

SIMON LORD FRASER, OR FREZEL OF LOVAT,

One of the moſt ancient Peers of Scotland, and Head of the Clan of the FRASERS, ſo celebrated in the North, and in the Highlands of Scotland.

IN TWO PARTS.

The FIRST, treating of the cruel Injuſtice of the Family of Athol, and the other Enemies of that Nobleman.

The SECOND, relating the unexampled Perſecution employed againſt him by the Court of St. Germains, for the Space of twelve Years, after he had abandoned his Eſtates and his Clan as a Prey to his Enemies, to go into France, to tender his Services to that unfortunate Court.

INTRODUCTION.

AS lord Lovat engages to advance nothing in this manifeſto which ſhall not be indiſputably true, and which he will not be ready to prove before any prince or court of judicature in Europe, he moſt humbly intreats all candid perſons to read his work in an unprejudiced manner, in order that they may do juſtice to his character, as well as to the treachery and ill faith of his perſecutors. Since however the firſt part relates only to his quarrel with the family of Athol, and may appear tedious to the reader, lord Lovat begs of him, if he be fond of intrigues of ſtate, to beſtow a peruſal upon the ſecond part, which explains the tranſactions of Great Britain and France, in relation to the court of St. Germains. In the mean time there will not fail to occur, even in the firſt part, ſome intereſting paſſages relative to ſtate affairs.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE OF LORD LOVAT.

PART THE FIRST.

Nona ætas agitur, pejoraque ſecula ferri
Temporibus; quorum ſceleri non invenit ipſa
Nomen, & à nullo poſuit Natura metallo.

Adſpicimus populos, quorum non ſufficit ira
Occidiſſe aliquem, ſed pectora, brachia, vultum
Crediderint genus eſſe cibi.

JUVENAL, Sat. 13. 15.

SIMON lord Lovat was deſcended from anceſtors, both by the father and mother's ſide, who had always been celebrated for fidelity to their ſovereigns: he was himſelf of a warm and active conſtitution. His father was the twenty-ſecond perſon who had enjoyed the title of Lovat in lineal deſcent: they were uniform in their adherence to their country and their kings. His mother was dame Sybilla Macleod, PART I. 1676.

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daughter of the chief of the clan of the Macleods, ſo famous for its inviolable loyalty to its princes *. Theſe diſpoſitions, as well general as individual, induced Simon lord Lovat to diſplay a violent attachment to the ruined cauſe of the late king James of pious memory from his earlieſt youth.

He bore at that time the title of laird of Beaufort, by which he was diſtinguiſhed during the life of his couſin-german Hugh lord Lovat. By the death of Hugh lord Lovat without iſſue male, Thomas, father of Simon, and uncle of Hugh, had an inconteſtible claim to the honours and eſtates of Hugh lord Lovat his nephew, and Hugh lord Lovat his father, of whom Thomas was the younger ſon† by dame Iſabella Wemys, daughter of the earl of Wemys, ancient peer of Scotland. Thomas therefore took

* The children of Thomas Fraſer and Sybilla his wife were Alexander, Simon the hero of the preſent memoirs, and John, all of whom are mentioned in this hiſtory, and one daughter.

† According to Douglas's Peerage Hugh the father of Thomas of Beaufort was great grandfather to the Hugh here mentioned. Of conſequence Thomas of Beaufort was brother to his grandfather and Simon lord Lovat at the ſame diſtance from the original ſtock as his father.

poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion without oppoſition of the honours and eſtates of his father and his nephew, and enjoyed them till his death.

Simon his ſon was, at the time of his father's acceſſion to the title, by a moſt extraordinary ſtroke of providence a captain in the regiment of the earl of Tullibardin, now lord Athol.

This nobleman, who was then known by the title of lord Murray, had received the commiſſion of colonel to raiſe a regiment of infantry for the ſervice of William the third, the reigning king of England. He preſently found however, that he was incapable of enliſting ſo much as a ſingle company for his new regiment, which he had promiſed king William to complete in a ſhort time. This aroſe from the alienation of the Stewarts and the Robinſons of Athol, who were always much attached to the intereſts of king James, and who, regarding lord Murray as their tyrant, were never willing to admit his claims of vaſſalage and obedience. On the contrary they carefully ſought all occaſions to deſert and affront him. Lord Murray ſometimes had his re- 1694.

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venge. He put the laird of Balleahan, chief of the Stewarts of Athol, together with his brother Alexander Stewart, a man of high courage, in priſon at Edinburgh, for having, in oppoſition to his orders, joined the expedition of lord viſcount Dundee: there Simon lord Lovat ſaw them in want of bread, and aſſiſted them with his purſe.

Lord Murray, being thus embarraſſed in the affair of his regiment, conceived the idea of gaining over the confidence of Hugh lord Lovat, who had married his ſiſter, and perſuading him to accept a company in his regiment, confident, that, by means of his clan of the Fraſers, he would contribute much to render his regiment complete. Convinced however that lord Lovat was much attached to king James, and the fartheſt in the world from an idea of entering into the ſervice of William, he engaged in the execution of his project the laird of Glengary, chief of a branch of the clan of Macdonalds, and an inveterate enemy of the Fraſers, though at that time married to the ſiſter of Hugh lord Lovat, and nearly related by the Macdonalds to the laird of Beaufort.

The

The laird of Glengary, the hireling ſycophant of lord Murray, by whoſe means he received a penſion from king William, at the very time that he appeared zealouſly engaged in the ſervice of king James, having received his inſtructions, came to Beaufort, the ſeat where lord Lovat then reſided. He perſuaded him that king James would infallibly arrive in Scotland in a ſhort time, and that lord Murray had accepted the regiment merely for the ſervice of the king. He therefore conjured lord Lovat to accept a company in the regiment, declaring to him, that it was impoſſible to render a more important ſervice to king James, to whom he was ſo much attached. 1694.

Lord Lovat, who was known for a man of a feeble underſtanding, gave into the ſnare, and accepted the infamous commiſſion, that lord Murray tendered him; though in the beginning of the reign of king William he had refuſed the offers of that prince to give him a regiment either of horſe or foot, or to make him lord ſheriff, or grand juſticiary of his province during life. Theſe offers had been conveyed to him by general Mackay his relation, who well knew, that lord

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lord Lovat, at the head of his clan of the Frafers, is the laird, of all the north the moft capable of promoting or difturbing the commencement of a government, not yet well eftablifhed, and this as well by the advantage of his fituation, as by the known valour of his clan.

The laird of Glengary however, by the fubtlety of his wit, and the infinuation of his manners, induced lord Lovat to accept this infamous company, after having refufed fuch valuable offers. By this means Glengary rendered the moft important fervice to lord Murray his patron, who, not daring to attack the Frafers in an open and decifive manner, endeavoured to tarnifh their reputation by ruining that of their chief. Perhaps too he flattered himfelf, that, in cafe king James fhould be reftored, he would obtain the confifcation of the lands of lord Lovat, which he has ufurped for fo many years, under the pretence of indemnification for a debt that was never contracted. For Glengary, it will fcarcely be wondered at that he fhould endeavour to ruin the Frafers, as it is notorious to the whole Scottifh nation, that he fet out with ruining his own clan in a manner the moft unjuft

unjuſt and deteſtable, and that he is properly regarded by his neareſt relations, leſs as their laird and chief, than as their oppreſſor and tyrant. PART I. 1694.

Lord Lovat was ſoon convinced that every gentleman of his clan was in the higheſt degree ſcandaliſed at the affront he had put upon them in accepting this infamous commiſſion. He therefore wrote to his couſin Simon of Beaufort, who was at that time at the royal univerſity of Aberdeen, intreating him to quit his ſtudies, though he had juſt taken his degree of maſter of arts, and was entering upon the ſcience of civil law. Lord Lovat declared in the moſt ſolemn manner that he would ever regard him as his ſon and the repreſentative of his houſe, and that with theſe views he had juſt accepted a commiſſion in the regiment of his brother-in-law, lord Murray, that he might beſtow it upon him, and thus bring him forward moſt advantageouſly in the world.

Simon was animated with the moſt vigorous zeal for the intereſts of king James; he had already diſcovered this diſpoſition under the command of general Thomas Buchan*, and he had been three times thrown into

* 1690.

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into priſon for his exertions in the royal cauſe before he attained the age of ſixteen years. He accordingly wrote a letter to his couſin full of the bittereſt invectives, telling him that he had for ever loſt his honour and his loyalty, and that poſſibly he would one day loſe his eſtates, in conſequence of the infamous ſtep he had taken: that for himſelf, he was ſo far from conſenting to accept a commiſſion in the regiment of that traitor, lord Murray, that he would immediately go home to his clan, and prevent any one man from enliſting into it.

Simon of Beaufort was as good as his word, and, being regarded by the whole clan as the heir apparent of his family, and their chief after the death of his couſin, he was able to exert ſo ſucceſsful an influence, that lord Lovat could not raiſe three men for his new company. His lordſhip accordingly began to be extremely aſhamed of his engagement; he ſwore to the laird of Beaufort, that it was Glengary that had perſuaded him to do it for the ſervice of king James: in conſequence of this confeſſion Simon thought himſelf obliged to talk in a very round manner to Glengary.

The

The old marquis of Athol was the firſt man in Scotland that had declared againſt king James; but, having been diſſatisfied with the recompences beſtowed upon him by king William, he changed ſides again, and diſplayed upon all occaſions a violent zeal for the intereſts of the unfortunate prince. This nobleman profeſſed the higheſt eſteem for the laird of Beaufort for his late conduct. There had for ſome time ſubſiſted a complete eſtrangement between him and lord Murray, his eldeſt ſon, to whom his father would not ſo much as ſpeak; calling him a traitor to his ſovereign, for having accepted a regiment from king William. The old marquis therefore remonſtrated with lord Lovat, his ſon-in-law, in a very ſharp ſtyle, praiſing at the ſame time the loyalty of Simon of Beaufort, and engaging him to paſs the winter in the city of Perth with his ſon lord Mungo Murray in the ſtudy of the mathematics. PART I. 1694.

Huntingtour, the ſeat of lord Murray, was about three miles from Perth, and, as he ſaw himſelf ſtill very much embarraſſed in the buſineſs of completing his regiment, he conceived the idea of inviting lord Mungo 1695.

PART I. 1695. Mungo and Simon of Beaufort to come and ſpend a few days at his houſe. They accepted the invitation, and were very politely received. After ſome time had elapſed in general converſation, lord Murray thought proper to blame the laird of Beaufort for having refuſed ſo advantageous a commiſſion, from which he might have derived a conſiderable income, at the ſame time following his ſtudies wherever he pleaſed, and leaving to his lieutenant the management of his company. Simon thanked him very much, but added, that he could never accept any commiſſion contrary to the intereſt of king James, to whom he was ſo much attached, and that he was extremely ſorry that his couſin lord Lovat had accepted it contrary to the dictates of his honour and his conſcience.

Lord Murray, obſerving the inviolable loyalty of the laird of Beaufort to king James, and knowing at the ſame time of what conſequence it would be to gain him over in the buſineſs of recruiting his regiment, intimated that he was deſirous of ſpeaking to him in his cloſet. There he ſwore to the laird, that his deſign in accepting

cepting the regiment from king William, was that he might have a regiment well trained and accoutered to join king James in a deſcent he had promiſed to make in the enſuing ſummer. Lord Murray added, that he dared not diſcover his deſign to the old marquis, his father, as he was apprehenſive that his ſecret would not be ſafe in his hands; but he ſwore that king James had not a more loyal ſubject in all Scotland, and that, ſince the laird of Beaufort was ſo zealous for his cauſe, he could not render him a more valuable ſervice than by accepting a company in the regiment of Murray, at the ſame time conjuring him in all events to preſerve his ſecret. PART I. 1695.

Simon, after ſo many proteſtations of loyalty, gave into the ſnare that was ſpread for him, and returned to his clan to raiſe recruits. The old marquis of Athol, who did not know upon what foot the laird of Beaufort had entered into engagements with his ſon, reproached him in the bittereſt manner, for having ſuffered himſelf to be inveigled into diſloyalty by the inſinuating diſcourſes of lord Murray. Simon had no ſooner engaged in this regiment, than he led

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led to it a complete company, almoſt entirely made up of the young gentlemen of
1695. his clan. Murray however broke his word with him in the affair of the company, and obliged him to ſit down for ſome time with a commiſſion of lieutenant of grenadiers. In a word, Simon did not obtain a company in the regiment till after having brought to it three hundred recruits, and was then obliged to make a compenſation in money to the captain who made room for him. He did not fail to be extremely diſguſted at having ſuffered himſelf to be over-reached by lord Murray, whoſe treachery he conceived to be of a very infamous nature.

1696. The year following, his lordſhip being appointed principal ſecretary of ſtate for Scottiſh affairs he devoted himſelf in ſo high a degree to the intereſts of king William, that he was continually torturing his invention for means to diſplay the ardour of his zeal for his new maſter. As he knew that his regiment was filled with perſons well affected to the ſervice of king James, he in the firſt place gave it the appointment of guard to the royal palace of Edinburgh,

He then aſſembled his officers, repreſented to them that they were regarded by the common men in the light of jacobites, and added, that, to demonſtrate how little foundation there was for this idea, he was obliged to tender them the oath of abjuration againſt king James, and the pretended prince of Wales. Many of the officers replied, that this oath had never been tendered to the officers of the Scottiſh army, and therefore intreated, that their regiment might not be the firſt that ſhould be called upon to take it. Lord Murray alleged, that he could not be diſpenſed with from giving this mark of his zeal for king William, and that therefore it was neceſſary to ſubmit or to quit the regiment. Accordingly, officers, highly attached to king James, were forced to ſign the oath of abjuration, in order to preſerve to themſelves the means of ſubſiſtence. PART I. 1696.

As lord Murray recollected upon what principle the laird of Beaufort had entered into his regiment, and well knew that he was firm and intrepid in the intereſts of king James, he ſent for him to his cloſet, and beſought him to ſign the oath of abjura-

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tion. Simon told him, that he did not well underſtand this demand, after all the promiſes he had made in behalf of king James. The colonel upon this acknowledged, that he had been at that time very much inclined to king James's party; but that ſince, he had been much enlightened upon the ſubject, and that it was his regard to the welfare of the proteſtant religion that induced him to be faithful to king William. Simon replied without any circumlocution, that what induced him to be faithful to king William was the appointment of ſecretary of ſtate: adding, that, if he preſſed him a moment longer upon this ſubject, he would declare to all the world that lord Murray had engaged him in his regiment for the ſervice of James.

Thus, it was that this nobleman, now lord Athol, and who is at this hour the favourite hero and the grand pillar of the court of St. Germains, was the firſt and the only man who obliged the officers of the Scottiſh army to take the oath of abjuration againſt king James.

The

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The following incident however will make it ſufficiently evident, that the zeal of the colonel for king William did not alter the inclinations of ſome of the officers of his regiment. At the time that an invaſion was ſo much apprehended in the years 1696 and 1697, the caſtle of Edinburgh being in a very defenceleſs ſtate and almoſt without a garriſon, the earl of Leven, at that time a zealous adherent of king William, and governor of the place, obtained an order for a company of the regiment of lord Murray, which was ſtationed as a guard to the royal palace of Edinburgh, to do duty at the caſtle, in conjunction with the half of the garriſon, which ſcarcely exceeded an hundred men.

The earl Mariſhal of Scotland had been committed priſoner to the caſtle, together with lord Drummond, his brother-in-law, ſon of the earl of Perth, and many other lords, for their attachment to king James. Lord Mariſhal was the intimate friend of the laird of Beaufort, at that time a captain in the regiment of lord Murray, and who mounted guard at the caſtle in his

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turn. This nobleman therefore propoſed to Simon, that, as ſoon as the king ſhould arrive in Scotland, or they ſhould even receive advice of his departure from France upon an expedition either againſt England or Scotland, he ſhould contrive to mount guard at the caſtle, in conjunction with another captain of the ſame regiment, diſtinguiſhed for his attachment to king James, but whom I do not here name, becauſe he is ſtill in the ſervice of the Engliſh government: that, when they ſhould be upon the parade in order to relieve the guard, and conſequently when both their companies were preſent, they ſhould make themſelves maſters by a *coup de main* of the unarmed garriſon, and ſhut the gates: that they ſhould then declare for king James, appoint earl Mariſhal governor, and commit the earl of Leven priſoner in his turn.

The other captain and the laird of Beaufort engaged upon oath, together with lord Mariſhal and other lords, who, as they are yet living, ſhall alſo be nameleſs, to preſerve an inviolable fidelity to this deſign. The ſcheme indeed was infallible, had not the

the navy of France been ſo irretrievably ruined by the deciſive defeat of la Hogue*. The court of St. Germains, which was informed of this project by lord Mariſhal, made warm acknowledgements for his ſhare in it to the laird of Beaufort, though ſhe has ſince recompenſed all theſe ſervices by an unexampled perſecution. PART I. 1696. * 1692.

The friends of lord Lovat exclaimed bitterly againſt lord Murray, that he did not reſign his regiment in favour of his brother-in-law; there having been no example of a ſecretary of ſtate, retaining his appointment of colonel to a regiment after being raiſed to that office. Lord Murray at length promiſed his regiment to lord Lovat; and, being deſirous to diſplay to king William his power among the highlanders of Scotland, whoſe importance William well knew, by preſenting to him one of their greateſt lords, he ſent three expreſſes one after the other, to intreat lord Lovat to ſet out immediately for London to take upon him the command of the regiment. His lordſhip accordingly took poſt, and as he had an extreme affection for the laird of Beaufort, his couſin, he took him with him to

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London. Lord Murray received them very politely; and, without saying a word of the regiment, carried lord Lovat to Kensington, and presented him to king William, saying, that he was his brother-in-law, one of the most ancient peers of Scotland, and head of one of the bravest clans in the highlands, that therefore he could venture to assure his majesty of their fidelity. King William accosted lord Lovat in a very gracious manner, telling him, that he knew the antiquity of his house and the importance of his clan, and that he might depend upon his providing for him.

Lord Murray, who was obliged to set out for Scotland in two days, and who was not willing to leave to lord Lovat an opportunity of speaking to the king, whispered him, that it was proper for him to fall upon one knee and take leave of his majesty. Lord Lovat, who, as we have already seen, was of a contracted understanding, and who had never been at court before, did as he was directed.

When however he had left the presence chamber, and parted with lord Murray, his cousin,

couſin, Simon of Beaufort, told him, that that nobleman had cauſed him to take leave of the king, in order to deprive him of all opportunity of obtaining a freſh audience, and ſoliciting a regiment. Simon mean time obliged him the next day to demand of lord Murray for what reaſon he had cauſed him to come to London at ſo enormous an expence. Lord Murray replied, that it was his deſign to have reſigned to him the command of his regiment, but that the king had obliged him to keep it in his own hands till the fears of an invaſion ſhould be blown over, when he certainly would ſurrender his command to lord Lovat.

Lord Lovat was much diſpleaſed with this anſwer; and, having ſpent the evening with his couſins, lord Tarbat*, and colonel Alexander Mackenzie, ſon to the earl of Seaforth, and at this time an officer in the guards, they ſhowed him very plainly that lord Murray made a jeſt of him, and had brought him to London, in order to make his court to king William at lord Lovat's expence; at the ſame time adviſing him to break with him.

* Afterwards earl of Cromarty.

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Lord Lovat, being by this time convinced how much he had been deceived, and how ill he had been treated by the family of Athol, took their advice, ſent back his commiſſions of captain, and of lieutenant-colonel to lord Murray, his colonel; expreſſing at the ſame time in very ſtrong language his reſentment of lord Murray's treachery, and proteſting that he would never ſee him more, nor any individual of his family, except his ſiſter, whom as being his wife he was obliged to retain.

Lord Murray was better pleaſed to retain a ſalary of four thouſand pounds in his own hands by keeping his regiment, than to preſerve the friendſhip of lord Lovat, as there was no further advantage to be derived from him. He alſo turned to account the reſignation of lord Lovat, though it was made in favour of the laird of Beaufort, his couſin, as he gave the company to lord James Murray, apologizing to Simon, that lord James had a wife and a family, without having bread to eat. It is proper to remark in this place, that lord James, who accepted this company, was the moſt violent partiſan the exiled family had in Scotland,

land, and that he could not bear to hear ſo much as the name of king William, down to the very moment that he received the appointment of captain in his ſervice. PART I. 1696.

Lord Lovat was ſo deeply impreſſed with the treachery of the family of Athol, as well reſpecting him, as reſpecting the kings William and James, that, intreating his couſin Simon to return with him to his own ſeat of Lovat, he ſwore that he would never ſee the marquis of Athol, nor any of the young lords, his children, whom he had hitherto ſupported from year to year, they not having ſo much as a maintenance in their own family.

Impreſſed at the ſame time with the tender affection of the laird of Beaufort, and the reſolution he manifeſted never to abandon him, lord Lovat declared, that he regarded him as his own ſon. And as lord Athol had urged him to execute ſome papers at his marriage, which might perhaps be prejudicial to the claims of Simon as his male heir, he obliged the young laird to ſend for an attorney, and made an univerſal bequeſt to him of all his eſtates in caſe he

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he died without iſſue male, leaving the ordinary dowries to his daughters, and annulling and abjuring whatever he might at any time have done, in oppoſition to the ancient claims of his houſe in favour of the male heirs. Simon expreſſed the moſt grateful ſenſe of the affectionate conduct of lord Lovat, and proteſted that he would ever conſider him as his father.

Lord Lovat fell ſick at London, his chagrin and diſappointment having induced him to frequent too much the taverns of the metropolis, where he contracted his diſtemper. But his health at length being reſtored, he ſet out upon his return for Scotland with his couſin, the laird of Beaufort, who quitted him neither day nor night during the whole period of his misfortune.

When he arrived at Edinburgh, the family of Athol, having underſtood that he was reſolved to go immediately to Lovat, without paſſing by Athol, or ſo much as ſeeing any of the family, perſuaded his wife to come to Dunkeld, a ſeat of lord Athol, from whence ſhe wrote to her huſband an affectionate

tionate letter, telling him that ſhe waited his arrival at the houſe of the marquis, her father. PART I. 1696.

Lord Lovat was reſolute not to go thither to meet her; but the laird of Beaufort, who had much influence over him, fearing that lord Murray, who had juſt been created by king William, earl of Tullibardin, and appointed high commiſſioner to the Scottiſh parliament, ſhould attribute to him the actions of lord Lovat, and employ his influence as his commanding officer to ruin him, adviſed his couſin, to go to Dunkeld to conduct his wife to Lovat, but not to conſent to make any ſtay with lord Athol. Lord Lovat yielded to the perſuaſions of Simon, ſhedding many tears upon parting with him, and crying, "We "ſhall never ſee each other more; this "ſavage family of Athol will certainly "kill me."

In reality he had been only two days at Dunkeld, when he fell ſick, and the Athols, not willing to be troubled with the care of an invalid, or for ſome other reaſons, ſent him to an inn in the city of Perth,

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Perth, hard by the houſe of doctor James Murray, a phyſician, the relation and the creature of the marquis of Athol, upon whom the care of lord Lovat's perſon was devolved.

The moment the laird of Beaufort heard the news that lord Lovat had been conducted very ill to the town of Perth, he ſet out without delay to his aſſiſtance. But before his arrival, in conſequence of the violent remedies that had been adminiſtered to him, he loſt the uſe of his reaſon, and lay in his bed, in a manner incapable of motion, abandoned by his wife and the whole family of Athol, who waited for his diſſolution in great tranquility at the houſe of doctor Murray, their relation.

Lord Lovat however recollected his couſin, and embracing him, ſaid; "Did not I "tell you, my dear Simon, that theſe devils "would certainly kill me? See in what a "condition I am!" Simon could not refrain from tears at this melancholy ſpectacle. He threw himſelf upon the bed beſide lord Lovat, and did not quit him for a ſingle moment, till he died the next morning

ing in his arms. Meanwhile not an individual of the family of Athol entered his apartment, after having once ſeen him in the deſperate condition in which he had been found by the laird of Beaufort. PART I. 1696.

Simon reproached in a very undiſguiſed manner the whole Athol family with the death of his couſin; and, after very high words on both ſides, he ſet out to join his regiment, then attending their colonel, the earl of Tullibardin, formerly lord Murray, who repreſented the perſon of king William in the parliament of the preſent year.

Thomas of Beaufort, father of Simon, and uncle of the deceaſed Hugh, now took poſſeſſion of the honours and property of his nephew, who had died without male children. The rights of the houſe of Lovat, and indeed of almoſt all the heads of clans, had been for time immemorial always in favour of the male heirs in excluſion of the female. The claim of Thomas, now lord Lovat, being therefore conſidered as inconteſtible, not a man in all the north of Scotland dreamed, that the marquis of Athol would endeavour to diſturb his poſſeſſion.

In

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In conſequence of this event Simon quitted the title of laird of Beaufort, and took that of maſter of Lovat.

The apparent ſecurity however of Thomas lord Lovat was quickly ſeen not to be entirely well founded. The earl of Tullibardin had at that time five ſons without having fortunes to beſtow upon them. He ſaw himſelf ſecretary of ſtate, viceroy of Scotland for king William, and of conſequence maſter of the privy council and of the Scottiſh army. In this ſituation he conceived a deſign of cauſing the eldeſt daughter of Hugh lord Lovat, to be declared heireſs to the eſtates of her father, and to beſtow her upon one of his ſons in marriage; perſuaded that his ſiſter, the dowager lady Lovat, would be pleaſed with the idea of thus aggrandiſing her paternal houſe.

Simon, maſter of Lovat, being informed of this deſign, previouſly to his communicating it to lord Lovat, his father, conſulted the moſt able lawyers in the kingdom upon the ſubject. The unanimous opinion of theſe lawyers was, that lord Tullibardin

Tullibardin had no more power to make his niece heireſs of Lovat, than to put her in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Scotland; that the right of Thomas of Beaufort to the honours and property of Lovat was incontrovertible; and that the king himſelf could not deprive him of them, without incurring the guilt of high treaſon. PART I. 1696.

The maſter of Lovat, delighted with the iſſue of this conſultation, diſpatched an expreſs to his father, beſeeching him not to make himſelf uneaſy about the reports raiſed by the family of Athol; that his rights were inconteſtible, and that he had nothing to do but to defend them. Lord Lovat replied, that he knew this as well as all the lawyers in the kingdom, and that nothing gave him any pain upon the ſubject, but the continuance of the maſter in the regiment of a tyrant, who was capable of contriving his aſſaſſination.

Lord Lovat was not in the wrong, to fear as he did, the pernicious deſigns of the earl of Tullibardin. This nobleman, having learned, that the maſter had conſulted the ableſt lawyers in the kingdom, and had tranſmitted

their

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their favourable opinions to lord Lovat, his father, ſent for him one evening, when it was his turn to mount guard for the defence of the perſon of the viceroy, his colonel. As the maſter of Lovat entered the apartment of lord Tullibardin, he ſaw the two centinels, who were placed in the antichamber according to cuſtom, and he found with the lord commiſſioner an attorney, and a barriſter. His lordſhip received the maſter in a very gracious manner, telling him, that he muſt have been already convinced that lord Tullibardin entertained an extreme friendſhip for him, and that he had now formed a project for making his fortune. Simon thanked him for his good intentions.

"But," cried my lord commiſſioner, "I "am told you have aſſumed the title of "maſter of Lovat, and that you have ſent "opinions of counſel to your father, re- "commending to him to take poſſeſſion "of the property of my late brother- "in-law." Simon replied, that his father had taken poſſeſſion of the honours and eſtates of his nephew immediately upon his death, and long before it was in his

power to have ſent him ſuch a conſultation as my lord commiſſioner mentioned. PART I. 1696.

Lord Tullibardin anſwered, that he had alſo had a conſultation upon this affair; that he was conſcious nobody could hinder Thomas of Beaufort from taking the title of lord Lovat, he had a right to it; but that for the property of the deceaſed, it belonged to his eldeſt daughter and heireſs; adding, that, if Simon would conſent to renounce his pretenſions to the property and honours of Lovat, he would give him a regiment, and an income that ſhould make him eaſy for life. Simon rejoined, that he had either a juſt right to the ſucceſſion of Lovat, or he had not; if he had no right, it was to little purpoſe to renounce his claim; but if he had a right, he would not renounce it for the revenues of Scotland.

To this the lord commiſſioner anſwered, that he had ſent for the lawyer and attorney then preſent to draw up his renunciation; that if he would execute it he would make his fortune, but if he refuſed he would not fail to ruin him. Simon replied, that it was idle to have ſent for an attorney and a barri-

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ſter in this buſineſs, that he had conſulted the firſt lawyers in the kingdom, that his claim was legitimate and inconteſtible, and that all the power and all the riches of Scotland ſhould never prevail upon him to ſurrender it.

This firmneſs and ſpirit threw the lord commiſſioner into a violent paſſion. He exclaimed with a furious tone; "I have "always known you for an obſtinate, in- "ſolent raſcal. I do not know what ſhould "hinder me from cutting off your ears, "or from throwing you into a dungeon, "and bringing you to the gallows, as your "treaſons againſt the government ſo richly "deſerve." Simon, having never before been accuſtomed to ſuch language, immediately ſtuck his hat upon his head, and laying his hand upon the hilt of his ſword, was upon the point of drawing it, when he obſerved that lord Tullibardin had no ſword. Upon this he addreſſed him in the following manner, "I do not know "what hinders me, knave and coward as "you are, from running my ſword through "your body. You are well known for a "poltroon; and, if you had one grain of courage,

" courage, you would never have choſen PART I.
" your ground in the midſt of your guards, 1696.
" to inſult a gentleman of a better houſe,
" and of a more honourable birth, than
" your own; but I ſhall one day have my
" revenge. As for the paltry company
" that I command in your regiment, and
" which I bought dearer than ever any
" company was bought before, it is the
" greateſt diſgrace to which I was ever
" ſubject to be for a moment un-
" der your command, and now, if you
" pleaſe, you may give it to your foot-
" man."

Having thus given vent to his reſentment, Simon left the apartment with his hat upon his head, and his hand upon the hilt of his ſword, for fear of being aſſaſſinated. But the lord commiſſioner had not the courage to order the two centinels who were in the antichamber to arreſt him; being probably apprehenſive of the reſentment of the guard of infantry, which Simon commanded in the court of the palace, and which was almoſt entirely compoſed of of his own clan.

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When the maſter of Lovat got into the court, he deſired his lieutenant to take care of the guard, and went himſelf to ſeek general ſir Thomas Livingſton, commander in chief of the Scottiſh army, and who was afterwards created by king William lord viſcount Teviot. The general had a great regard for the maſter of Lovat, and none at all for lord Tullibardin the high commiſſioner. When therefore Simon complained to him of the inſult he had received from Tullibardin, his colonel, in the midſt of his guards, he was extremely provoked, and ſaid to the maſter; "Your colonel, my dear Simon, "is in luck to be high commiſſioner, "and to repreſent, however unworthily, "the perſon of the king, for, if he were "not, I would throw him this very even-"ing into the priſon with which he has ſo "baſely threatened you. But do not fear "him; he dares not do you any harm. I "take you under my protection, and I will "remove you from his regiment into a "much better ſituation, before a week be "elapſed."

Next day general Livingſton and the maſter of Lovat publiſhed the infamous conduct of the lord commiſſioner to the whole

whole army. He had never been popular in Scotland; and this action rendered him completely odious. It was the only ſubject of converſation at Edinburgh for ſeveral days, and the little children cried ſhame upon him as his carriage paſſed along the ſtreets.

In this manner the public completely revenged the maſter of Lovat for an affront, which he could not vindicate with his ſword, as he had to do with his own colonel, with the viceroy of a kingdom, and with a man who was beſide a poltroon by profeſſion. It was not long after, that he refuſed in a very diſgraceful manner the challenge of Mr. Campbel of Finac, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the enterpriſe of Darien, telling him that his conſcience would not permit him to fight a duel; though Mr. Campbel had openly inſulted him in his own apartment in the royal palace of Edinburgh, and upon the very ſpot where the above ſcene had paſſed with the maſter of Lovat.

Simon was not willing, after this, to perform any function in the regiment, and ſir

PART I. 1698. Thomas Livingſton had the goodneſs to remove him from the regiment of lord Tullibardin, and to give him the company of grenadiers of the regiment of Macgil. This company was ſuperior to any other grenadiers in Scotland, being almoſt wholly compoſed of young gentlemen, uniformly tall and well ſhaped. The maſter of Lovat enjoyed this new appointment, and Thomas lord Lovat his father kept quiet poſſeſſion of the honours and eſtates of his anceſtors for one entire year, when they were diſturbed by the inſatiable cupidity and the avaricious machinations of the old marquis of Athol.

This nobleman had rendered himſelf univerſally odious by the tyranny he exerciſed upon his vaſſals in the province of Athol, and ſtill more by his inexcuſable and infamous conduct towards the illuſtrious houſe of Argyle, a houſe which had been ſo unjuſtly oppreſſed in the preceding reigns. This raſcally marquis had been a perſonal enemy to the late earl of Argyle, who was beheaded under James the ſecond; the braveſt and the moſt reſpectable nobleman in Scotland. The earl of Argyle had

had given a blow to the marquis of Athol publicly before the whole court, which was then at Edinburgh, and the marquis did not dare to revenge himſelf, but by the baſeſt and moſt barbarous tyranny. PART I.

Lord Athol had the command of the troops, which were ſent to reduce the earl of Argyle*; a hero, moſt unjuſtly perſecuted by a cabal of courtiers, after having given the moſt unqueſtionable proofs of his loyalty to king Charles the ſecond, and having even followed him in his exile. This ſavage marquis, ſeeing himſelf at the head of a powerful army, and maſter of the county of Argyle, not only pillaged the whole country and every houſe in it, but alſo cauſed all the beautiful plantations of the caſtle of Inverary, the principal ſeat of the earls of Argyle, to be defaced and torn up by the roots. Nor did his malice ſtop here. He cauſed fourſcore brave gentlemen of the houſe of Argyle to be aſſaſſinated with the moſt unexampled barbarity. He had at this moment in his pocket the pardon of king James for all the Campbels who were willing to ſubmit to his clemency, and he had conſented to a capitulation with theſe *1685.

PART I. very gentlemen, by which he had obtained poſſeſſion of the caſtle, where they had held out againſt the efforts of his whole army. In defiance however, both of the royal pardon and of his own capitulation, he cauſed them all to be hanged.

Simon, who was at that time a boy, was informed of theſe particulars by the late lord Lovat, his father, who, being truſtee of the Lovat eſtate, had been obliged by an order from the king to lead his clan againſt the earl of Argyle, though he was tenderly attached to this nobleman, and was ready to have ſacrificed his life for him in any other quarrel, than againſt his lawful ſovereign.

Mr. John Fraſer, brother to Simon, and who was commonly known in France by the appellation of the chevalier de Lovat, aſſured him during his reſidence in that country, that, in travelling to Edinburgh, he was only a mile and a half from the caſtle of Dunkeld, at the time of the death
1703. of the marquis of Athol*; and that his hoſt, who ſat up in his turn, together with a guard of thirty men, in the marquis's apartment,

apartment, had informed him, that for a month before his death, lord Athol was in the moſt deplorable condition, blaſpheming God, and crying, that he was already in hell, and ſurrounded with devils for having oppreſſed the Stewarts of Athol and the Fraſers, and for having ſhed the innocent blood of the Campbels. The clergymen of the neighbourhood, all of whom came in their turn, to endeavour to compoſe him, were terrified from approaching his bed, he crying out, that he had nothing to do with them; and that he was already encompaſſed with devils. And in this infernal kind of madneſs the marquis died, the very night that the chevalier de Lovat was within three miles of his houſe: an exemplary judgment of God, which ought to make thoſe tremble who oppreſs the juſt, and deſtroy the innocent; for ſooner or later their puniſhment is certain, and, if they are ſpared in this world, it is only to aggravate their torments in the world to come. PART I.

After this digreſſion, which relates to a fact that ought not to be concealed from poſterity, I return to the project of that grey-

PART I. greyheaded tyrant, the marquis of Athol, and of the earl of Tullibardin his eldeſt ſon, the true heir to his avarice and his other amiable qualities, to poſſeſs themſelves of the eſtates of Lovat, and to enrich their family, which was hitherto rich only in hungry lords, without property, and without appointments.

1697. To carry this project into execution, they conſulted with an infamous and unnatural raſcal of the clan of the Fraſers, who was at that time a barriſter, without either reputation or employment, in the city of Edinburgh, and who, for a little money, ſold himſelf to the family of Athol, to betray his clan, and to ruin his chieftain. Mr. Michael Fraſer, his brother, and a very learned miniſter in the neighbourhood of Inverneſs, who has always continued extremely faithful and zealous for his laird, exerted himſelf to perſuade this apoſtate wretch to abandon his deſign. But he was unſucceſsful in his attempt, and concluded with curſing the day that gave birth to ſuch a monſter as his brother Robert, who for vile lucre ſubmitted to be the inſtrument of lord Athol, to ruin lord Lovat, and to exterminate

terminate the name of Fraſer, which he unworthily bore. PART I. 1697.

Robert Fraſer repreſented to the marquis of Athol, that he had no apparent right to the eſtates of Lovat, and had little proſpect of ſucceſs, if he endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of them by force; ſince the whole clan was unanimous to live and die with Thomas lord Lovat, and reſolved to ſuffer all extremities, rather than permit a ſtranger to enter into poſſeſſion of their province. He therefore obſerved, that the only conduct it became him to adopt, was to declare the eldeſt daughter of the deceaſed Hugh lord Lovat, heireſs to his property, and to offer her in marriage to the eldeſt ſon of lord Salton, whoſe name was Fraſer, and who was the repreſentative of an inconſiderable branch of the Fraſers, which had ſettled in the lowlands of the county of Aberdeen. He added, that in that caſe he would undertake to inſinuate to the clan of the Fraſers, that lord Salton was very rich, and a Fraſer as well as themſelves; and that, if his ſon united his property with that of the pretended heireſs, the clan of Fraſers would become much

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much more flouriſhing and reſpectable, than under Thomas lord Lovat, who was neither ſo rich, nor ſo capable of freeing the clan from the many unjuſt claims, that were made upon them, and proſecuted in law for fictitious debts. Robert Fraſer concluded, that, when the clan ſhould by this plot, and by ſome bribes that might be ſecretly diſtributed, be divided among themſelves, and when, of which there was no doubt, lord Lovat and lord Salton ſhould have cut each others throats, the family of Athol might profit by their diſorder; and the marquis might introduce the young lords, his children, into poſſeſſion of the province, either under pretext of the dowry of their ſiſter, or by the pretended right of the young heireſs their niece, who would then be in their power to marry as they pleaſed.

The lords Athol and Tullibardin were delighted with a project, which accorded ſo well with their own hearts. They began with beſtowing rewards upon the traitor, Robert Fraſer, and upon a little knave of a Fraſer, the ſon of Dunballah, whom Robert aſſociated with him, in order to

to inveigle the clan, and to lead lord Salton into their ſnare. PART I. 1697.

They repaired accordingly to his ſeat in the county of Aberdeen, and repreſented to him, that it would be worthy of a man of his virtue and greatneſs of ſoul, to raiſe the name and the clan of Fraſer to a flouriſhing condition, and to beſtow his ſon in marriage upon the heireſs of Lovat, by which means, as he was very rich, he might place the clan in a more honourable and reſpectable condition than ever.

Lord Salton had often heard that the eſtate of Lovat was the beſt ſituated and in the fineſt country in Scotland; and, as he was naturally the moſt avaricious of men, he gave willingly into their plan. At the ſame time he was a man of good ſenſe and a great deal of prudence; and, as he was very remotely related to the clan of the Fraſers, being incapable even of ſpeaking their Erſe language, he declared that he would never conſent to the project, but upon condition of his being invited by the clan, and provided there ſhould not be found any near relation of

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the late lord Lovat, who ſhould be proper or willing to marry the pretended heireſs.

The two traitors Robert and Thomas Fraſer, who had already ſold their laird and their clan, now undertook to procure for lord Salton an addreſs, or unanimous letter in the name of the whole clan, to intreat him to come among them and conſummate this marriage; though theſe knaves had no more credit in the clan than a couple of footmen. They quitted however lord Salton in order to carry on their ſcheme.

They were ſufficiently pleaſed that they had ſo far ſucceeded as to draw him into their ſnare. In the mean time they wrote to lord Athol, that they were proceeding to Inverneſs, and that, even ſhould they not dare to mention their project to the clan, they would however procure a fictitious letter to induce lord Salton to ſet out for Lovat. They added, that lord Athol ought by all means to ſend one of his children to receive him, and to buoy him up in the hope which they had inſpired, of having the pretended heireſs for his eldeſt ſon. Lord Athol accordingly diſpatched

diſpatched lord Mungo Murray, with inſtructions to his daughter, the dowager lady Lovat, reſpecting the manner in which ſhe ſhould receive lord Salton. PART I. 1697.

Robert Fraſer and his coadjutors, having arrived at Inverneſs near Lovat, conſcious that they did not dare to open their project to the principal gentlemen of the clan, who were extremely attached to Thomas lord Lovat and, who had no conception of the poſſibility of his title being diſputed, bribed two or three beggarly relations of their own to ſign ſuch a letter as they deſired. This done, they immediately diſpatched it expreſs to lord Salton, aſſuring him that the three ſignatures annexed, were thoſe of the principal gentlemen of the clan; and that they had ſubſcribed it in the name of all the Fraſers, to invite him into their country.

Lord Salton gave implicitly into their artifice: and ſuch was the origin of all the misfortunes of Thomas lord Lovat, and Simon lord Lovat, his ſon, and of the almoſt total ruin of the clan of the Fraſers, ſo celebrated for ages in the Scottiſh hiſ-

PART I. 1697. tory. Robert, the prime author of theſe misfortunes, died under the viſible judgement of God; and his fellow knave, Thomas Fraſer, may yet be overtaken with the juſt puniſhment of his crimes.

Theſe two emiſſaries of lord Athol however, divulged their deſign to ſome of their relations, who were faithfully attached to lord Lovat; he was accordingly advertiſed of the particulars, and immediately diſpatched an expreſs to his ſon, who was then at Edinburgh, intreating him to quit the army, and come and reſide with him, to defend his rights againſt thoſe who were diſpoſed to invade them. Simon, unable to reſiſt the inclinations of his father, quitted the ſervice with regret, and immediately ſet out, to place himſelf, together with his father, at the head of the affairs of his clan.

As ſoon as he arrived, and received an account of the treachery of Robert and Thomas Fraſer, and three or four beggarly people of the name who had invited lord Salton, to come and interrupt the tranquility

lity of his father and his clan, the maſter of Lovat diſpatched three men to arreſt Robert and his inſolent coadjutors, in order to their being puniſhed according to their deſerts. It may be remarked by the way, that the heads of the Scottiſh clans exerciſe a power nearly deſpotic over their vaſſals. The conſpirators however eſcaped, and haſtened to put themſelves under the protection of lord Salton. PART I. 1697.

When lord Lovat and his ſon were acquainted with their eſcape, they cauſed a general letter to be written to lord Salton on the part of the whole clan, to intreat him to remain at home, and not to interfere with their repoſe, their chieftain, or his intereſts. They added, that they were unanimouſly determined to live and die with their laird, and that they were ſorry to be obliged to tell lord Salton, though he were a Fraſer, that, if he dared to enter their country in hoſtility to Thomas lord Lovat, their chief, his head ſhould anſwer the infringement, and he ſhould never return alive into his own country. Every gentleman of the clan, the three beggars

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excepted, who had aſſociated themſelves with the barriſter and his couſin, ſigned this letter.

An expreſs was accordingly diſpatched, who met lord Salton already advanced half way on his journey. He proceeded however to Inverneſs, where he learned from undoubted authority, that Thomas lord Lovat and Simon the maſter were in peaceable poſſeſſion of the honours and eſtates of their anceſtors, and that the clan were reſolute to defend them to the laſt; conſequently, if he advanced any farther in the proſecution of his ſcheme, he would not fail to run an imminent riſk of his life, ſince the highland clans did not conſider themſelves as bound by the letter of the law, like the inhabitants of the low country, but to a man would regard it as their honour and their boaſt, to cut the throat, or to blow out the brains of any one, be he who he would, who ſhould dare to diſturb the repoſe of their laird.

Lord Salton, who had little knowledge of the manners of theſe regions, had by this

time ſeverely repented the having left his own country. He wrote upon the ſpot a very humble and polite letter to lord Lovat and his ſon; proteſting before God that he had not left his own eſtate in order to diſturb their tranquility; but that he was come, like a good Fraſer, to endeavour to terminate in an amicable manner the differences he had been told had ariſen between lord Lovat and the family of Athol; and that for this purpoſe he would now proceed to the reſidence of the lady dowager Lovat, which was at Beaufort, nine miles from Inverneſs. 1697.

Lord Lovat and his ſon took this letter in good part, and anſwered lord Salton, that, if he were come upon ſo good an errand, he was welcome to Lovat, and they would haſten to do him the honours of the country; but that, if he came to intrude into their concerns againſt their conſent, he ſhould dearly repent it.

Still, however, lord Lovat and his ſon, and the principal people of the clan were apprehenſive, that the lady dowager Lovat and her brother, the ſon and daughter of lord Athol, together with the three or four

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traitor Fraſers who were with them, would perſuade lord Salton to perſiſt in their project. Lord Lovat was at this time at his large eſtate of Stratheric, which ſtretches along the weſtern banks of the Neſs; the eſtates of lord Lovat comprehending the almoſt entire circumference of this lake, which is the largeſt and moſt beautiful in Scotland. The maſter of Lovat therefore intreated his father to croſs the lake by the ſhorteſt cut, in order to meet lord Salton at his ſeat of Lovat, the houſes of Beaufort and Lovat being only three miles from each other. In the mean time Simon determined to proceed to the ſame point by the way of Inverneſs, in order that he might meet lord Salton, if his lordſhip ſhould be deſirous of ſetting out on his return before their arrival.

The maſter of Lovat no ſooner arrived at Inverneſs, a town whoſe inhabitants are almoſt all of his clan, and as true to his intereſts as thoſe who live at the very gates of Lovat, than he learned, that lord Salton had once more given himſelf up to the direction of Robert Fraſer and his aſſociates, that they had jointly concerted their

their affairs at the houſe of the dowager lady Lovat, and that he meaned to return the next day into his own country, without waiting to ſee either lord Lovat or his ſon, notwithſtanding his having given them his word, that it was for their intereſts that he had come into the province. Simon, who was at that time very young, and eager in his temper, was extremely irritated at this behaviour. He ſent a letter with all diligence by a gentleman of his train, in which he called upon lord Salton, to adhere to his word, paſſed to his father and himſelf, and to meet him the next day at two in the afternoon three miles from Beaufort, either like a friend, or with ſword and piſtol, as he pleaſed. 1697.

Lord Salton received this letter at ſix o'clock in the evening, and immediately called together his cabal, by whom it was reſolved, that it would be proper to ſend word to the maſter of Lovat, that lord Salton would meet him at the time and place appointed, as his good friend and ſervant. In the mean time they determined, that, as the rendezvous was given only for

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Lord Salton accordingly returned a polite anſwer, aſſuring the maſter of Lovat that he ſhould be happy to meet him, in order to give him the proofs of that friendſhip and reſpect he entertained for him. The gentlemen however who attended the maſter, had a miſtruſt of all that was concerted at Beaufort. They recommended to him to proceed for Lovat early in the morning, before it ſhould be poſſible for lord Salton to eſcape.

The maſter accordingly proceeded, and paſſed the bridge of Inverneſs very early, attended by ſix gentlemen and two ſervants, on horſeback, and completely armed. The inhabitants, obſerving their alert and ſpirited appearance, lifted up their hands to heaven, and prayed God to proſper their enterpriſe.

They

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They had not proceeded more than four or five miles beyond Inverneſs, when they obſerved a large troop of runners iſſuing out of the wood of Bonſhrive, which is croſſed by the high road. It is a cuſtom in the north of Scotland, for almoſt every gentleman to have a ſervant in livery, who runs before his horſe, and who is always at his ſtirrup when he wiſhes to mount or to alight; and, however ſwift any horſe may be, a good runner is always able to match him.

The gentlemen who attended upon the maſter of Lovat, ſeeing this large troop of runners, were immediately ſatisfied of the duplicity of lord Salton, and aſſured him that it was his lordſhip, lord Mungo Murray, ſon of lord Athol, and the reſt of the cabal who were advancing. The maſter repreſented to his attendants, that ſuch an affront was too atrocious, for him not to exact ſatisfaction for it, or to periſh in the attempt; and he demanded of them whether they were willing to run the ſame hazard which he was determined to do. The gentlemen of his party were offend-

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ed at the queſtion, and aſſured their chief that his own heart was not more faithful to his purpoſe, than they were to expoſe their lives and fortunes for his honour and intereſt. He replied, that, ſince lord Salton and lord Mungo Murray were, if they might judge from the appearance of the troop of runners, four times ſtronger than himſelf, he would call out lord Salton in duel, and lord Mungo as his ſecond, and he intreated his attendants not to fire, till the combat ſhould be finiſhed between him and lord Salton. Having thus concerted their proceedings, they marched on to the rencounter, the runners having aſſured them that the company that was advancing, was that of the lords whom they ſought.

Lord Salton and lord Mungo Murray, with their train of attendants, iſſued from the wood, at the moment the maſter of Lovat was about to enter it. Upon ſight of them he drew a piſtol from his belt, and a very brave gentleman of his party, by name William of Erchette, who was behind the maſter, obſerving this action, without uttering a word, levelled a carabine

carabine which he had upon his horſe, at lord Salton, crying out, "Stop, traitor, "you ſhall pay with your hide your irrup-"tion into this country in hoſtility to our "laird." At theſe words they all ſtopped ſhort. PART I. 1697.

The maſter of Lovat inſtantly ſpurred his horſe into a ſlight gallop, making towards lord Mungo, who was foremoſt in a narrow path leading out of the wood. As he approached him, the maſter of Lovat cried, his piſtol in his hand, "Fire, trai-"tor, or I will blow out your brains." Lord Mungo, mounted upon a very fine horſe, the property of the late lord Lovat, his brother-in-law, inſtead of firing his piſtol, dropped his bridle from his hand, and exclaimed aloud, "My dear Simon, "and is this the termination of our long and "tender friendſhip! Grant me my life." The maſter replied; "You are a baſe cow-"ard, and deſerve no quarter, but I give "you your life:" and, ſaying this, he diſarmed him in a moment of his piſtols and his ſword. No ſooner was this done, than, turning round, the maſter of Lovat perceived one of his attendants in the very act of

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of discharging the contents of his carabine at the distance of only three inches, into the body of lord Salton. Simon immediately threw himself before his attendant, and called to him with all his might not to fire. Thus his generosity saved in one day the lives of two noblemen, who the very night before had conspired his destruction, and who had formally broken to him their words of honour.

Since however the two lords had more than forty horsemen behind them in the road, the master of Lovat gave orders to all the gentlemen of his party, to present their carabines to the breasts of lord Salton, lord Mungo Murray, and the persons who were already come up, and to fire upon the first person who moved hand or foot, while he alighted from his horse, and disarmed the remainder of the troop as they arrived. In this manner the master of Lovat took from the enemy more than forty pair of pistols, together with a number of swords, without the smallest resistance from any individual, except the valet de chambre of lord Salton, who was a lowland Fraser, and

and who would not give up his arms, till the maſter ſtruck him a blow upon the head with the flat ſide of his ſword. PART I. 1697.

In the mean time the nine perſons of whom the maſter's troop was compoſed, were inſufficient to guard above forty perſons with their horſes, to the houſe where the maſter of Lovat reſolved to hold them in durance. He therefore diſpatched one of his company to muſter the infantry of the province, which is conſtantly well armed and equipped, and animated with the moſt incredible zeal in the ſervice of their chief. They aſſembled in crowds; and lord Lovat himſelf ſoon arrived, together with almoſt every perſon who lived for ſome miles round: ſo that in leſs than ſix hours lord Lovat and his ſon muſtered between ſix and ſeven hundred brave Fraſers, completely armed, under the walls of Fanellan, which was the ſeat to which the maſter cauſed the two lords and all their attendants to be conducted.

Upon their arrival the maſter of Lovat intreated his father to retire to one of his other eſtates at a conſiderable diſtance from Fanellan,

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Fanellan, as well to avoid the fatigue incident to ſo active a ſcene, lord Lovat being then ſixty-eight years of age, as becauſe the maſter was unwilling, that the capture of theſe noblemen ſhould be imputed to his father, or that he ſhould be involved in any of the diſagreeable conſequences, that might follow ſo ſpirited an action.

As two of the perſons, moſt actively concerned in the project of lord Salton, were ſtill with the dowager lady Lovat at the ſeat of Beaufort, the maſter now diſpatched a gentleman of his clan with thirty followers, to bring them priſoners to Fanellan; at the ſame time directing him to place a guard upon all the avenues of Beaufort-houſe, to prevent the dowager from ſending to her father, in oppoſition to lord Lovat and his ſon. Beaufort-houſe was in reality the property of lord Lovat, not only as a part of the Lovat eſtate, but as being his appanage as younger ſon of Hugh lord Lovat, his father. Accordingly he had always been ſtiled during the life of his nephew the laird of Beaufort, and had lived in the houſe till he became a widower,

a widower, having afterwards beſtowed it out of pure bounty upon his nephew, on account of the ruinous condition of the caſtle of Lovat. Whether however the perſons, that the maſter had ſent to apprehend the conſpirators, committed any inſults upon the domeſtics of the houſe, or upon their priſoners, the dowager lady Lovat exclaimed warmly that ſhe was inſulted and made a priſoner, as ſhe ſaid, in her own houſe. PART I. 1697.

Accordingly ſhe made her complaint to the marquis of Athol, her father, and to her brother, the earl of Tullibardin, at that time one of the ſecretaries of ſtate for Scotland. During the whole tranſaction, the maſter of Lovat had remained at a diſtance from the dowager, at the houſe where his priſoners were confined; and thoſe perſons who were ſent to Beaufort, were guilty of no ſort of diſreſpect to her perſon. In the mean time, out of this natural and temperate procedure, unaccompanied with either attempt or deſign againſt the perſon of the dowager, lord Athol and his ſon created that chimerical monſter of a rape and violation, with which they blackened

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blackened the character of the maſter and his friends. It was impoſſible indeed to do other than praiſe the action, by which he had made himſelf maſter of the perſon of the lords, who had come with a deſign of expelling him from his inheritance.

Meanwhile the whole country knew, that the maſter of Lovat, at the age of about twenty years, well educated, at the head of an ancient houſe, and of a brave and reſpectable clan, might have aſpired to any match in the kingdom. Indeed he ranked among his anceſtors on the female ſide three daughters of the royal houſe of Stuart, together with the daughters of the moſt ancient peers and the firſt nobility of Scotland. He had no reaſon therefore to commit the ſmalleſt violence upon a widow, who was old enough to be his mother, dwarfiſh in her perſon and deformed in her ſhape, and with no other fortune than a jointure of two hundred and fifty pounds a year, which itſelf was dependent upon his good pleaſure as maſter of Lovat. Add to this, that the whole north of Scotland was conſcious that this pretended rape was a mere calumny, a ridiculous chim-

æra,

æra, invented by the marquis of Athol for the ruin of the maſter of Lovat. It is alſo notorious that the dowager herſelf, ſince the proſecution was commenced againſt the maſter for a crime, that he never ſo much as imagined, and that it would ſtrike him with horror to commit, even with a female of the meaneſt condition, has declared to more than a hundred perſons, that her father and her brother were extremely to blame to accuſe the maſter of this crime; that he had never failed of paying her every proper reſpect; and that ſhe loved and eſteemed him, having been brought up with him in the ſame houſe, the late lord Lovat, his couſin, having always regarded him as his child.

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Notwithſtanding however the evident abſurdity of this imputation, lord Tullibardin, then ſecretary of ſtate to king William, perſuaded his maſter that Simon of Beaufort had committed a rape, accompanied with the moſt atrocious and aggravated circumſtances, upon the perſon of his ſiſter, the widow of the late lord Lovat.

Something was ſtill wanting: Thomas lord Lovat could not be comprehended in the

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the chimerical crime of his ſon, nor could a detachment of the royal army be obtained againſt the clan of the Fraſers, to puniſh the crime of an individual. Lord Tullibardin therefore perſuaded king William, that both father and ſon had been the firſt to join the inſurrection of viſcount Dundee, that they had been the laſt to ſubmit to the preſent government, and that they had in fact always continued his majeſty's inveterate enemies. They expected, he ſaid, to ſee king James in Scotland in the enſuing ſummer, and had already once more taken arms for his ſervice, and collected two thouſand men under their ſtandard. He deſcribed their eſtate as conſiſting of immenſe foreſts, inacceſſible iſlands, and impregnable caſtles. They had furniſhed theſe iſlands and caſtles with ammunition and proviſions; they had thrown up intrenchments in their foreſts, in order to render a country ſtill more inacceſſible, which was already ſufficiently ſo by nature; if therefore, his majeſty did not iſſue immediate orders to the whole Scottiſh army, to march againſt theſe rebels and villains, the flame now lighted up, might ſoon become too great for all the exertions of the three kingdoms to extinguiſh.

It was natural for king William to give credit to the repreſentations of his ſecretary of ſtate. He therefore yielded implicitly to the ſentiments of Tullibardin, which were in fact the mere reſult of private picque againſt Simon, and an intereſted conteſt for the Lovat eſtate; and iſſued orders to the Scottiſh troops to march againſt the clan of the Fraſers, and to the Scottiſh privy council to exert themſelves on their part for their entire reduction. It was thus that king William, to ſatisfy the ſordid and treacherous diſpoſition of his miniſter, employed his authority to exterminate a houſe, whoſe anceſtors in every period of the Scottiſh hiſtory have gained the moſt diſtinguiſhed laurels in the defence of their king and country. PART I. 1697.

In the famous battle of Roſline*, ages before the illuſtrious houſe of Stewart aſcended the Scottiſh throne, [Buchanan lib. viii. page 255.] Simon Fraſer and John Cuming were the two commanders in chief, who gained the moſt memorable victory ever obtained by the Scots over the Engliſh. *1302.

Simon Fraſer, ſon of the former, and Alexander his brother, were cut in pieces

PART I. at the battle of Perth*, [Buchanan lib. ix. pages 284, 5.] through the treaſon of An-
*1333. drew Murray of Tullibardin againſt his king and country, who placed ſtakes of wood in the moſt fordable part of the river, as a direction to the Engliſh, in order to their falling by night upon the army of Scotland. The part of the camp neareſt to the river was occupied by the Fraſers, and the Keiths the anceſtors of the earl Mariſhal of Scotland, who were all cut in pieces, and the Keiths have never recovered the ſlaughter of that night. The following year Andrew Murray of Tullibardin was taken and hanged by James and Simon Fraſer, and Robert Keith.

The Fraſers at length recovered from this misfortune, as in a more recent inſtance they were delivered by a particular interpoſition of providence, from a ſtill greater
1544. diſaſter at the battle of Loch Lochie. In this battle lord Lovat, his four brothers, his three ſons, and all the gentlemen of his clan were cut in pieces by the different clans of the Macdonalds, who were at that time four times their number. This attack was inſtigated by George Gordon earl of

of Huntley, who bore the Frafers an extreme hatred on account of their attachment to the family of Argyle, with whom he was engaged in continual feuds. The attachment of the Frafers to the Campbels is as old as the very exiftence of their names; and accordingly the quarrel of a Campbel was always confidered through the whole country as the quarrel of a Frafer. But God reftored by a kind of miracle the clan of the Frafers, who were all killed upon the fpot, with the exception of three perfons defperately wounded. The paffage is curious enough to deferve to be cited in the very words of Buchanan. PART I.

" About this time," fays he, " by the " inftigation, as it is thought, of the earl of " Huntley, a battle was fought, in which " almoft the whole clan of the Frafers was " exterminated. There was an old quarrel " between the Frafers and the Macdonalds, " which had been rendered illuftrious by " the many bloody engagements to which " it had given birth. Huntley in the " mean time was deeply irritated, that the " Frafers alone, among fo many neighbour- " ing clans, fhould reject his protection.

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" He had juſt collected the neighbouring " iſlanders, and made an incurſion upon " the eſtates of the earl of Argyle; and, " while every other clan had exerted its " whole force in his favour, there was " ſcarcely an individual in the whole clan " of Fraſer, that had not ranged himſelf " under the enemy's ſtandard. For this " time however the feud was compoſed " without an engagement, and the forces " of each party, having diſbanded them- " ſelves, returned to their reſpective clans. " The Macdonalds meantime, inſtructed " by the earl of Huntley, collected their " whole force; and, having taken their " enemy by ſurpriſe, engaged in a moſt " obſtinate battle: the unfortunate clan, " overpowered by the greateſt inequality of " numbers, were killed to a man. Thus " a family, the moſt numerous, and who " had often deſerved well of the Scottiſh " weal, had wholly periſhed; unleſs, as " it ſeems juſt to believe, the divine pro- " vidence had not interfered in their fa- " vour. Of the heads of the clan eighty " perſons had left their wives at home preg- " nant, and each of them in her turn was " delivered of a male child, who all at-

" tained ſafe to man's eſtate." [Buchanan lib. xv. page 532.] PART I.

Theſe particulars are ſufficiently known, as being contained in the only authentic hiſtory of Scotland for thoſe times. And indeed the life of Simon lord Lovat, which forms the ſubject of the preſent hiſtory, has been itſelf little leſs than a continual miracle; ſince he has repeatedly eſcaped by the favour of providence, all that the malice of men and devils could invent, to ruin him, to undermine his reputation, to rob him of his property, and to deprive him of his life.

I now return to lord Tullibardin, who ſurpriſed king William, in the manner that has been related, into the iſſuing of an order, the moſt vindictive that ever originated with any king of Scotland; and of the nature of which king William was aſſuredly not ſufficiently informed. Lord Tullibardin, at that time ſecretary of ſtate, and high commiſſioner to the Scottiſh parliament, had the whole privy council, which was indeed almoſt totally compoſed of his own creatures, at his diſpoſition. No one is now to be told, that the ſecretaries of 1697.

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ſtate for Scotland, ever ſince her kings aſcended the Engliſh throne, have had a very great, and indeed an abſolute power in the Scottiſh privy council.

Nor was this ever more conſpicuouſly diſplayed than upon the preſent occaſion. Upon the groundleſs calumnies of the marquis of Athol, a committee of privy council, choſen by lord Tullibardin, without examining a ſingle witneſs, a procedure contrary to all laws, and all precedent; and without iſſuing a citation to lord Lovat or his ſon, an indulgence which has never been refuſed to the moſt atrocious outlaws, publiſhed a printed ſentence againſt Thomas lord Lovat, and Simon his ſon, and againſt all the Fraſers, men, women, and children, their adherents. This ſentence included an order to all the troops in the kingdom, to overrun their province, to take them dead or alive, to burn, kill, ravage and deſtroy the whole clan without exception: if they, or any of them took ſanctuary in churches, to burn them in the ſaid churches; at the ſame time annexing a general amneſty, in caſe the troops employed in this execution, in burning them,

them, ſhould burn any perſon not bearing the name of Fraſer. In a word, all hiſtory, ſacred and profane, cannot produce an order, pregnant with ſuch unexampled cruelty, as this ſentence, which is carefully preſerved in the houſe of Lovat, to the eternal confuſion and infamy of thoſe who ſigned it, and to awaken the gratitude of the Fraſers to the lateſt generation, to that God who delivered them from this infernal execution. PART I. 1697.

While this was tranſacting, the maſter of Lovat, little ſuſpecting the machinations which the lords Athol and Tullibardin were preparing againſt him, was employed in diſpoſing of his noble priſoners. For ſome time he detained them in cuſtody, and threatened to hang them, for having intruded into his inheritance, and ſought to deprive him of his lawful and hereditary rights. At length however, by the interceſſion of certain barons of the low country, who came to ſolicit the liberty of lord Salton, lord Mungo Murray, and their attendants, he diſmiſſed them; having firſt obliged lord Salton to promiſe, that he would ſend him, as ſoon as he ſhould be

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out of the province of Lovat, a formal obligation in the ſum of eight thouſand pounds, with four barons of the low country as his ſureties, that he would never more interfere with the affairs of the Lovat eſtate, and that neither he nor the marquis of Athol would ever proſecute either lord Lovat, or his ſon, or their clan in general, for the diſgrace they had experienced in being made priſoners, or for any of the tranſactions of this affair. Thus was the maſter of Lovat exerciſing his generoſity towards a part of the Athol family, at the very time that they were conſpiring his deſtruction and the extermination of his clan.

It was not long before the maſter was advertiſed by his friends of the formidable decree of the privy council; that in conſequence all the regular troops in Scotland were marching againſt him by the low countries, and that lord Athol was aſſembling an army of highlanders to march round the mountains and attack him in flank. So formidable a preparation would have terrified any man, who had not been a little acquainted with the manner of carrying on a war in the highlands, and who was not tolerably certain

tain that his province was almoſt inacceſſible, and that with five hundred men he could effectually ſtop the progreſs of five thouſand in a foreſt, fortified by nature with rocks and an almoſt uninterrupted defile. 1697.

Previouſly however to the arrival of his enemies, the maſter intreated his father with tears, to retire into the country of his brother-in-law, the head of the brave clan of the Macleods, a family extremely rich and powerful in the iſlands of Scotland. Lord Lovat conſented to the propoſal; and the Macleods came to meet him, and received him with the ſame affection, as they would have done their own chief, the brother-in-law of his lordſhip.

The maſter of Lovat felt himſelf extremely happy in having placed his father in ſafety. He now aſſembled his whole clan, in order to learn their reſolution; and all of them, with a zeal which ſurpaſſes credibility, and which ought for ever to engage the inviolable attachment of every Scottiſh chief to his clan, proteſted to the maſter, that they would never deſert him; and that they would leave their wives, their children, their

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The ſeveral regiments of cavalry, infantry and dragoons, which were ſtationed in the kingdom of Scotland, now arrived at Inverneſs, in order to execute the infernal ſentence, which had been pronounced againſt the Fraſers. In the mean time lord Athol detached the three young lords, his children, at the head of an army of highlanders, compoſed of every man whom he could collect, either by menaces or rewards, from the Stewarts, the Robinſons, the Farquharſons, and even the Macdonalds, though they were the neighbours and the relations of the maſter.

Upon the day appointed for waſting the whole province of Lovat with fire and ſword, the regular troops entered into the

flat country. They ſaw nothing here but women and children in tears; and the officers, animated with a more chriſtian ſpirit than the privy council, declared, they would ſooner reſign their commiſſions, than execute ſo barbarous a buſineſs, as the murder of defenceleſs women and children, who could be objects only of compaſſion, not of vengeance. PART I. 1697.

They therefore diſpoſed themſelves to advance to the ground where the maſter and his adherents were intrenched. But here they were aſſured that if they paſſed the river, the fords of which were extremely narrow, not one of them would eſcape. Upon this theſe brave and honeſt fellows, who had no inclination to loſe their lives in order to conquer provinces for lord Athol, returned home, after having burned and pillaged a few houſes, for fear of a reprimand from the ſecretary of ſtate.

They were no ſooner departed, than the highland army, commanded by the lord Murrays, appeared upon the mountains, in order to ſurround the maſter on that ſide. They dared not however approach his place

of

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of defence; and he ſtruck them with ſo complete a panic the firſt night they came within reach of him, that they fled with great precipitation acroſs the fields, and retired next day, taking care however to burn every houſe, and pillage every woman and child, that came in their way. Such was the concluſion of the firſt and grand expedition of the family of Athol againſt the maſter of Lovat and the clan of the Fraſers.

Lord Tullibardin, the ſecretary of ſtate, who had been the author of all theſe cruelties, was highly enraged at ſo diſhonourable an event. He obtained from king William an order to break ſeveral regiments which had been employed upon the expedition, and among others lord Forbes's regiment of horſe.

The Fraſers after this enterpriſe had ſome reſpite from the encounter of large armies. But they were daily harraſſed with flying parties from Inverneſs and Inverlochy, otherwiſe Fort William. Theſe were in ſmall numbers, and the maſter had always timely notice of their approach; ſo that he

he gave himſelf little trouble about them. He might, if he had pleaſed, have cut them in pieces wherever they appeared. But, as the regular troops had always diſplayed a clemency for his country, and a regard for his perſon, he treated them with as much mildneſs as was conſiſtent with the ſafety of his clan. PART I. 1697.

He was however continually in danger of periſhing by the public attempts that were made to take him, three or four times in a week; and his danger was ſtill greater from the villains, that lord Athol had ſhamefully bribed to aſſaſſinate him. Many of his own and of other clans confeſſed that infamous crime, and particularly captain James Maclean. In this ſituation the maſter of Lovat thought proper to make a journey into the iſland of Sky, the province of the laird of Macleod, with the principal gentlemen of his clan, in order to pay his duty to his father, and to take leave of him, provided he ſhould be unexpectedly cut off in any of the perils he encountered. He gave himſelf however little anxiety about the efforts of lord Athol; and upon his return to Lovat, being deſirous not to harraſs his clan,

PART I. clan, he diſmiſſed his whole train, except about fifty gentlemen for the guard of his perſon.

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1698. Lord Athol, who had always his ſpies planted about the maſter of Lovat, was adverti ſed by three or four traitors of the Fraſers, that the maſter was now in great ſecurity at one of his eſtates, called Straheric, the part of his inheritance neareſt to the province of Athol, and that a ſmall troop of reſolute men might eaſily take him. The marquis accordingly ſelected from his vaſſals five hundred of his braveſt men, and placed at their head the two heroes of his family, lord James and lord Mungo Murray.

Lord Athol directed them to march only by night, to prevent a diſcovery; and bid them never ſee his face again, if they did not bring along with them the maſter of Lovat, dead or alive. They accordingly proceeded in great diligence, extremely well armed, and having for their guide two Fraſers, who engaged to lead them by the moſt private and unfrequented paths. In fact they arrived upon his eſtate, without the maſter's having received the ſmalleſt

previous

previous intimation. He was at this time gone to Inverneſs, to viſit *incognito* ſome of his friends; and had with him only three or four ſervants, when he received an expreſs from Straheric, that this eſtate was filled with the troops of lord Athol, and his children at their head. PART I. 1698.

The maſter feared, not only that his houſe and eſtate of Straheric might be ruined, but that his faithful relations in that country might be unable to eſcape from the hands of theſe barbarians. Inſtead therefore of withdrawing into his other territories, which he might eaſily have done by the bridge of Inverneſs, he diſpatched his four ſervants full ſpeed, to advertiſe his relations of their danger, and to intreat them to join him upon the top of a little mountain, which he had ſelected as a proper place of rendezvous. He himſelf proceeded thither, with only a ſingle runner, through the woods and unfrequented paths, reſolved to periſh with his clan, or to ſave them from the hands of their remorſeleſs enemies.

When he arrived upon the appointed mountain, he had the ſatisfaction to range an

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an hundred gentlemen, and an hundred brave peaſants under his ſtandard in the ſpace of two hours. But the accounts he received, magnified extremely the number of the enemy, repreſenting them as a regular army of two thouſand, or at leaſt fifteen hundred men; and the moſt prudent were for retiring and abandoning the open country to their ravages. The maſter however ſwore, that he would never take ſo painful a ſtep, without having firſt a nearer view of them; and that, if he could not venture to face them in the open field, he would at leaſt hang upon their flanks, in order to hinder as much as poſſible the ruin of the country, and cut in pieces the ſtragglers from the main body. The gentlemen of his clan, who had no fears but for his perſon, finding him ſo reſolute, followed his ſtandard with pleaſure.

He arrived about ſun-ſet within a ſhort three miles of his enemies. There he received exact information reſpecting their numbers, by one of the guides of his own clan, whom lord James Murray had the impudence to ſend, to command the gentlemen

men of the country to come, before ten o'clock the next morning, to make their ſubmiſſion, to deliver or abandon to him the maſter of Lovat; and in caſe of diſobedience he ſwore he would burn their houſes, and not leave them ſo much as a cock to proclaim the dawn of the day. PART I. 1698.

The bearer of this meſſage, whom the Athol army had compelled to become their guide, and who had formerly been a judge of the province, and a particular friend of the maſter of Lovat, added, that the young lords had with them the beſt troops of the province of Athol, of the Stewarts, and the Robinſons; that they were completely armed; and that they expected to be joined next day by the king's troops: therefore, if it were poſſible to attack them, it muſt be done before this junction was effected.

Four days previous to this tranſaction Simon had aſſumed the title of lord Lovat, having learned the melancholy news, that his father was dead, in conſequence of a violent march, which he had made to avoid

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the enemy, who were reported to be ſetting out for the iſles in order to ſurpriſe him. Simon was moſt ſincerely afflicted by the death of a parent, whom he loved with the utmoſt tenderneſs, and who had been ſo firm and reſolute in the ſupport of his lawful claims at ſo advanced an age; for he died at the age of ſixty-eight years. He therefore ſwore, that, having the authors of his father's death, and of all his perſonal misfortunes before his eyes, he would now revenge himſelf in their blood, or periſh in the attempt.

He found thoſe who were with him, ready to devote themſelves to revenge the wrongs of their chief, and the devaſtation of their country. He therefore ſent back the ſame perſon to lord James Murray, with notice that Simon lord Lovat, before ten o'clock the next morning, would infallibly have the honour of waiting upon him ſword in hand, at the head of all the gentlemen he had appointed to meet him; and, though he had not half his complement of men, being intercepted from all communication with his eſtates of Air, Loirnamanac, and Straglaſſe,

Straglaſſe, by the lake of Neſs which divides them, that he had yet the utmoſt confidence in the favour of God, and the juſtice of his cauſe. Lord James Murray was not a little ſurpriſed at the meſſage of Simon. He immediately called together his officers, drew up his troops, and took poſt upon a very advantageous ground, having a ſteep rock behind him, and his front covered with the buildings of a village. There, thinking themſelves in entire ſecurity, and ſatisfied of the ſmall numbers that the enemy could draw together in that country, they lighted a number of fires, and began to prepare their ſupper. PART I. 169.

Simon had at that time about two hundred and fifty men under his command, half of them ill armed, the regular troops having the year before ſtripped their houſes and every other place of ſecurity, of all the arms they could find. He foreſaw, that, if the enemy were permitted to repoſe for this night, they would be much better prepared for the battle which he was reſolved to give them the next day. His relations

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however were averſe to fighting that evening, and were deſirous of waiting for a reinforcement of lord Lovat's vaſſals, from the provinces of Obertarf and Glenmoriſton, which are ſituated at the head of the Neſs and in its environs.

Lord Lovat meanwhile reſolved at leaſt to beat up the quarters of his enemies. For this purpoſe he ſelected fifty active young fellows, and marched them within muſket-ſhot of the enemy. There they gave their firſt fire, and immediately threw themſelves upon their bellies in obedience to his orders. The Athol troops were extremely terrified at this diſcharge. They immediately ſet up their bagpipes, and formed themſelves behind their fires. If lord Lovat at this moment had had his whole force with him, the enemy might have been all cut in pieces, without the expence of ten men. He could obſerve their ſlighteſt movement by the light of their fires, a circumſtance of danger, to which from ignorance they did not advert; and they were unable to perceive lord Lovat or any of his men, at the diſtance of twenty paces.

Lord Lovat ſent immediately for the reſt of his force, in order to make a deciſive attack. But the gentlemen of his clan were peremptory for waiting the reinforcement from Obertarf and Glenmoriſton. Lord Lovat perceived that nothing could be done that night; he therefore drew off his detachment, leaving only twelve men to keep up a conſtant fire upon the enemy. He himſelf ſlept a few hours at about a mile and a half from their camp. PART I. 1698.

At break of day he was awaked by a falſe alarm that the enemy were approaching. He had laid down in his clothes, and therefore roſe immediately; and, drawing his ſword, reſolved to die upon the ſpot, rather than yield an inch to his antagoniſts. He ordered his troop to ſtand to their arms and prepare for battle. He marched to a neighbouring height to wait for the attack. But on his way, he was informed that it was a falſe alarm, occaſioned by a detachment of the enemy, who had ſallied from their camp, to purſue the twelve men who had fired upon them in the night; and having exchanged a few ſhot, both parties retired to the main body.

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Lord Lovat held a council with the gentlemen of his clan, to determine the manner in which it was proper to attack the enemy in ſo advantageous a poſt. He had now been joined by a part of his clan from the province of Obertarf, and his whole force amounted to about three hundred men, one half of them ſlenderly armed. At the ſame time he was perfectly informed, that the enemies force amounted to more than ſix hundred troops, carefully ſelected, and completely accoutered.

He obſerved to his council, that it was impoſſible to attack the enemy in front, on account of the walls and huts with which it was covered. It became neceſſary therefore to have recourſe to ſtratagem. He propoſed to detach ſixty of his fleeteſt and moſt active young men under Mr. Alexander Macdonald.

This gentleman, the only neighbour, or perſon not of his own clan, that he had with him, was the famous Alexander Macdonald, otherwiſe called *Aliſter More*, on account of his gigantic ſtature, being the talleſt man in Scotland, and not leſs celebrated

brated for his brave exploits, than for his prodigious height. He was of the family of Kappah, whoſe lands are contiguous to thoſe of Straheric and Obertarf. He was himſelf related to the Fraſers of Straheric; and, being extremely attached to lord Lovat, he always offered, with much pleaſure, to riſk his life in his ſervice. Lord Lovat, knowing his fidelity, valour, and ſkill, had recourſe to him upon this important occaſion. PART I. 1698.

He aſked him, whether he would be willing to take ſixty young fellows well armed, and march to a height within ſight of the enemy, where he ſhould draw out his little detachment in ſo extenſive a line, as to lead the Athol party to believe that lord Lovat and his whole force was on that ſide. In the mean time lord Lovat propoſed, with the body of his army, to make a circuit of the rock that covered the enemies rear, and take them in flank, while Alexander Macdonald attacked them in front. The propoſal was unanimouſly approved by the council, and eagerly accepted by Mr. Macdonald.

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Lord Lovat now marſhalled his little troop, and ſelected the men moſt proper for Macdonald's detachment. He inſtructed him to gain the place appointed, and to remain there, while lord Lovat filed through an obſcure moat to the other ſide of the mountain in the enemies rear. Lord Lovat then propoſed to make a ſignal of three diſcharges of a muſket, when Macdonald was to march as near as poſſible to the huts in the enemy's front, and to fire upon them from the neareſt ſtation he could obtain, in order to diſlodge them from their cover, or at leaſt to throw them into diſorder. Lord Lovat would in the mean time fall upon them ſword in hand from the mountain; and thus he promiſed himſelf an aſſured victory, though his number did not amount to the half of the enemy. While this was concerting, his clan was actuated with the moſt incredible ardour, ready to precipitate themſelves upon the enemy, without preparation, and without order.

Mr. Macdonald now marched on his ſide to the neighbouring height, and lord Lovat ſet out to make the circuit of the mountain.

tain. Being arrived within cannot ſhot of the enemy, without being yet in their ſight, he drew up his troops, with one gentleman at the head of every ſix peaſants, and diſpatched centinels, to proceed ſoftly, and almoſt creeping upon their bellies, to reconnoitre the motions of the enemy. One of them preſently returned with notice that the enemy was in motion. Another gave intelligence a moment after, that he ſaw them marching towards Inverneſs in great haſte. Lord Lovat immediately aſcended with his troop to the ſummit of the mountain; and perceiving that the enemy were actually flying, he made the three diſcharges as a ſignal to Mr. Macdonald to attack and ſtop them.

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But Macdonald, who obſerved them running with great precipitation, judged it better to outſtrip them by the ſwiftneſs of his men, in order to ſtop them at a terrible defile, which was ſix miles onward, and which it was abſolutely neceſſary for them to paſs. He obſerved that lord Lovat and his men were at too great a diſtance to be able to come up with the enemy, unleſs they were ſtopped at this defile.

This

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This quickneſs of recollection in Mr. Macdonald was a proof of maſterly ſkill; for, if the enemy had had heart and ſpirit enough to rally and face lord Lovat in the plain, they might have cut in pieces his whole force without any loſs.

Lord Lovat had intreated his troop to march in order after the enemy, and by no means to break their ranks. But his brave peaſants replied with one voice; "If you chuſe to attend to your regular manner "of marching, you may do as you pleaſe. "But for our parts we will come hand "to hand with theſe raſcals, or burſt our "wind in the purſuit." Saying this, and without waiting for orders, they immediately broke away after the enemy, and he was the braveſt man who could run the faſteſt. Lord Lovat ran for three miles along with them, on foot, and almoſt naked. He was now obliged to mount on horſeback, without either boots or ſpatterdaſhes, in order to ſtop the foremoſt of his troop, who ruſhed upon the enemy like ſo many madmen. A rear guard of only fifty men might at this moment have totally deſtroyed the Fraſers.

But

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But the enemy thought only of flight. They had been informed in general by one of their ſpies that they were ſurrounded on all ſides; and they ſaw no other means of ſafety. They were however immeaſurably aſtoniſhed, when, as they approached the defile which afforded them the only means of eſcape, they ſaw it in poſſeſſion of Alexander Macdonald and his ſixty fuſileers. They immediately ſtopped ſhort. At the ſame time they ſaw the main body of the Fraſers purſuing them. This body was now extremely diſperſed. The very women of the country ran along with their huſbands, conjuring them not to ſpare the murderers of their chiefs, and the villains who came to rob them of their all. The enemy, beholding this ſpectacle, and already impreſſed with the moſt lively apprehenſions, took it for granted that lord Lovat's troop conſiſted of four times their number, though in reality it did not amount to one half of it.

Lord James Murray is ſaid to have exerted himſelf to compel his men to engage, and to have drawn them up in line of battle. But the Stewarts of Athol, who were animated with an inſtinctive hatred of

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the marquis, and who had no quarrel with the Frafers, declared in a peremptory manner to lord James, that they would demand quarter of the victor, and were ready to lay down their arms. Lord James was befide himfelf at this declaration. Lord Mungo burft into tears, feeing himfelf once more in the hands of lord Lovat, and entertaining a well-grounded apprehenfion, that their repeated breaches of honour and humanity had cancelled all the regard he had ever entertained for them.

During this difpute among the enemy, lord Lovat drew up his troops, as they arrived, within mufket-fhot of the Athol forces. As foon as they were formed, he gave pofitive orders to advance, but not to fire a fhot, till he had difcharged his piece within piftol-fhot of the enemy; then to fire at once, throw down their muskets, and fall upon the enemy fword in hand in front, while Mr. Macdonald and his fmall detachment attacked them in flank.

The enemy believed themfelves loft without redemption. They faw lord Lovat's troop advancing in perfect order. Immediately, in

in the room of firing, they laid down their arms; and, covering their heads with their plaids, cried out for quarter. PART I. 1698.

At the ſame moment Mr. Archibald Menzies, who was their major, and who had three years before reſigned his company of grenadiers in the regiment of lord Murray in favour of lord Lovat, then laird of Beaufort, ran before the enemy, with a white handkerchief or neckcloth tied to a bludgeon, crying out for mercy. He advanced in order to throw himſelf at the feet of lord Lovat. Two of the Fraſers followed him, and demanded lord Lovat's permiſſion to kill him. But his lordſhip cried out with a loud voice to ſpare him. He then threw himſelf proſtrate, and begged his life, declaring he had always been a friend to lord Lovat, and had never done any injury to his province. His requeſt was granted.

"I am alſo come, my lord," added he, "to demand quarter for the Stewarts, who "are with your enemy, and have been "forced upon this expedition as well as "myſelf. They love you better, than they "do

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" do lord Athol and all his children." Lord Lovat replied, that he could not liſten to the propoſal: and was ſending him back to his commanders, to tell the enemy to reſume their arms and defend themſelves, otherwiſe he would cut them in pieces; for he was determined that day to avenge the death of his father, and the tyranny of lord Athol and all his family.

At this moment all the gentlemen of the clan of the Fraſers came up to lord Lovat, and intreated him for God's ſake, to ſpare theſe miſerable wretches, and give them their lives. Lord Lovat and the moſt reſolute young people in his troop were peremptory for putting them to the ſword; and many of his moſt valuable friends and relations have ſince blamed him for his lenity upon this occaſion. But in fact he was not at liberty to act as he pleaſed. In ſpite of his eager deſire to cut his enemy in pieces, he was obliged to follow the advice of his moſt venerable relatives and the heads of his clan. And theſe proteſted to him, that it would be a real murder to kill people who had laid down their arms; that

that their clan would infallibly be exterminated if it were perpetrated; and that not a man in the kingdom would either aſſiſt or pity them. Lord Lovat therefore, to ſay the truth in ſpite of himſelf, ſpared their lives a ſecond time to the children of lord Athol, who had ſought every means that hell could invent, and had put in practice both open violence and ſecret aſſaſſination, to put an end to his exiſtence; though they had in reality no other cauſe of complaint againſt him, than that he was born the true and legitimate heir to the eſtate of Lovat. PART I. 1698.

Lord Lovat contented himſelf upon this day of *Altnigoir*, (ſuch is the epithet that his clan beſtow upon this bloodleſs victory) with cauſing the children of lord Athol, and all their followers, to ſwear upon a naked ſword, after the manner of the country, a horrible oath, by which they renounced their claims in Jeſus Chriſt, and their hopes of heaven, and devoted themſelves to the devil and all the torments of hell, if they ever returned into the territories of lord Lovat, or occaſioned him directly or indirectly the ſmalleſt miſchief. Beſide this, lord James and lord Mungo Murray, and all their followers,

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followers, Murrays, Stewarts, Menzies, and Robinſons, executed a paper, containing the above oath, together with an obligation under the penalty of a large ſum of money, to prevail upon lord Athol, their father, and lord Tullibardin, their brother, ſecretary to king William, to do juſtice to lord Lovat, and to indemnify him for the injuries they had done to his inheritance.

Having obtained theſe ſecurities, lord Lovat drew up his whole troop in two files; and, in conformity to an example he had read in the Roman hiſtory, made theſe miſerable cowards march, like ſo many criminals, between the ranks of his men, and obliged them immediately to quit his territories by the ſame road they had entered them. Such was the event of the laſt expedition of the family of Athol into the province of Lovat.

The children of lord Athol, at once irritated and aſhamed of this terrible diſaſter, haſtened to appear before the privy council, where they ſwore that Simon of Beaufort, ſuch was the ſtyle they allotted to lord Lovat, had ſurrounded them with three thouſand

ſand men, and would have aſſaſſinated them, if they had not found means to eſcape from his cruelty by an unguarded paſs. In the mean time, in ſpite of the tyranny of lord Athol over his vaſſals, and the power of lord Tullibardin, then ſecretary of ſtate, they were never able to induce a man of the Stewarts, the Robinſons, or any other of their vaſſals, to march againſt lord Lovat. They ſwore they would never more draw their ſwords againſt a man who had given them their lives in ſo generous a manner. Accordingly from that day lord Lovat poſſeſſed his inheritance in tranquility; being ſubject to no other inconvenince, than that of being ſometimes invaded by a ſlender detachment from the garriſon of fort William, of which the officers and almoſt all the ſoldiers were his friends. PART 1. 1698.

The ſentence of death however being ſtill in force againſt him, his friends and relations repreſented to Archibald duke of Argyle, a great favourite of king William, that he ought not to permit the family of Lovat and the clan of the Fraſers to periſh; that they had been conſidered in all ages as a branch of his own, and that they had 1699.

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always been as attached and as faithful to his anceſtors as the Campbels of Inverary themſelves.

They added that the family of Athol, who exerted themſelves for the extermination of the Fraſers, were the hereditary enemies of the houſe of Argyle; that this very marquis of Athol a few years before had exerciſed every ſpecies of tyranny and oppreſſion over the Campbels in their own country; and that, in permitting the houſe of Athol to aggrandize itſelf by the acquiſition of the Lovat eſtate, he was ſuffering ſo many declared enemies of his clan to erect their power upon the ruin of his friends. Theſe motives determined the duke of Argyle to obtain the indemnity of lord Lovat and his clan, in ſpite of all the oppoſition the earl of Tullibardin could employ.

The duke of Argyle poſſeſſed ten times the ſenſe of his rival. King William, who knew him for the beſt ſtateſman in Scotland, gave him a very large ſhare of his confidence. And the duke employed this confidence to convince his ſovereign that lord

lord Tullibardin ſerved him very unfaithfully in that kingdom, that he employed the royal authority to ruin the moſt ancient houſes in order to aggrandiſe his own, and that the perſecution he exerciſed againſt lord Lovat and the clan of the Fraſers, was capable of exciting all the clans, and even the whole nation to revolt againſt the government. His grace at the ſame time repreſented the friendſhip ſubſiſting between the houſe of Campbel and that of Fraſer, and how highly his majeſty would oblige him in this affair. He added, that the king might ſpend a hundred times the value of the Fraſer eſtate before he could reduce it, on account of its inacceſſible ſituation, and its intermarriages and friendſhips with the neighbouring clans. King William proteſted that he was totally ignorant of the affair, and had no concern in iſſuing ſuch orders as his grace repreſented: and he promiſed, in conſideration of the ſervices of the duke of Argyle, to grant a full and unconditional pardon to lord Lovat and his clan. PART I. 1699.

The duke, having obtained this promiſe, wrote to lord Lovat to lay down his arms,

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and come privately to London when he might depend upon his obtaining for him an entire pardon. Lord Lovat thanked the duke, and promiſed to obey; and ſhortly after ſet out for London.

When lord Lovat arrived, he found that the king had iſſued orders to the earl of Seafield, his ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, to draw up the pardon. This miniſter, who was the colleague of the earl of Tullibardin, though he was friendly and even related to lord Lovat, yet being naturally extremely timid, ſtood in awe of the vengeance that he might incur from the family of Athol by expediting this pardon. He therefore ſuffered the affair to be put off from time to time, in ſpite of the ſolicitations of the duke of Argyle and lord Lovat, till king William ſet out for the United Provinces. Lord Seafield then intreated Mr. Pringle, under ſecretary of ſtate, to preſent the pardon to the king at Loo, and to ſign it as ſecretary of ſtate; ſince the papers ſubſcribed by Mr. Pringle, when the king was in Holland, were not leſs valid, than if they had been ſigned by a principal ſecretary.

Lord

Lord Lovat was much afflicted at this delay. And as it was not proper for him to return to Scotland, he determined to make an excurſion into France. The principal motive of his tour was as follows. PART I 1699.

The marquis of Athol had been the firſt perſon who appeared for king William in the privy council of Scotland. Soon after he changed ſides and became a declared Jacobite. And now, in order to diſcourage the relations and friends of lord Lovat, he gave out, that, when king James ſhould be reſtored, he would trample upon Simon of Beaufort and his clan, as completely as his ſon did by the authority of king William. The anceſtors of lord Lovat had uniformly ſignalized themſelves in the royal cauſe, and indeed had nearly been ruined by their exertions for the illuſtrious houſe of Stuart; and lord Lovat himſelf had rendered the moſt eſſential ſervices to the intereſts of king James. He was therefore reſolved to learn from the mouth of that prince, whether the reports, that lord Athol ſo induſtriouſly diſſeminated through the north of Scotland, were true or falſe.

PART I. 1697.

Arriving at St. Germains he addreſſed himſelf to his couſin, ſir John Maclean, chief of the clan of Macleans, who introduced him to lord Perth. This nobleman received him with open arms, and immediately led him to king James. The queen and the young prince her ſon were preſent.

After a ſhort cuſtomary converſation, lord Lovat complained to the king of the family of Athol. King James immediately in the preſence of the queen, the prince, the duke of Perth, and ſir John Maclean, all four ſtill living, grew extremely warm, and lifting up his hands he ſaid, turning to the queen, "This perfidious family of Athol, "and that old traitor, the firſt man that re-"volted againſt my government in Scot-"land, have the folly to believe that I will "protect them againſt a family the moſt "loyal in the kingdom, and whoſe anceſtors "have always been loyal to mine. The "father of this very lord, who is now be-"fore you, was inviolably attached to my "brother and myſelf. No, my lord," ſaid the king, turning to lord Lovat, "I will de-"fend you againſt any man in the kingdom "who

" who dares to profeſs himſelf your enemy; PART I.
" and that perfidious and traitorous family 1699.
" of Athol, I will do every thing in my
" power to exterminate."

" Madam," added he, turning to the queen, " do you ever remember, and re-
" mind the prince your ſon of what I now
" ſay. Ever make the diſtinction which is
" ſo juſtly due to the family of Lovat. I
" will give under my hand my ſentiments
" upon this ſubject to lord Lovat."

Upon this king James took ſome paper, and wrote with his own hand the obligations that had been conferred upon the crown by the family of Fraſer; engaging, in behalf of himſelf and his ſucceſſors, that he would reinſtate that family in the property they had loſt by their adherence to the crown, and that he would protect lord Lovat and his poſterity againſt all their enemies in Scotland, and particularly againſt the perfidious and faithleſs family of Athol. The king then ſubſcribed this paper, and affixed to it his leſſer ſeal. Lord Lovat depoſited it in the hands of ſir Alexander Innes of Coxton, a gentleman diſtinguiſhed by his attachment to the intereſts of James.

PART I. 1699.

King James having intreated lord Lovat to make his peace with the reigning government, in order to ſave his clan, his lordſhip returned to London, before the time that king William ſet out, as has been related, for the Netherlands. Not having been able to obtain his pardon in form, he followed his majeſty to Loo, though then under ſentence of death, having a letter of recommendation from the duke of Argyle to Mr. William Carſtares, chaplain to the king, and who had much influence with his maſter.

Mr. Carſtares received him in the moſt polite manner, and promiſed to mention him to the king; which he did the ſame day. The king obſerved to Mr. Carſtares that lord Lovat was a very bold man to come ſo far under ſentence of death. Carſtares replied, that he placed an entire confidence in his royal word, which he had given to the duke of Argyle. "He "has reaſon," ſaid the king, "and I beg "of you to ſpeak to Mr. Pringle, to draw "up his pardon in all the forms, and as "ample as poſſible. I am deſirous to in-"demnify him from every thing that I "can

" can by the laws of the kingdom, and I " will not forget him." PART I. 1699.

Mr. Pringle accordingly drew up an ample and complete pardon for every imaginable crime, that it might not be poſſible to evade it upon the ſubject of the pretended rape, about which lord Athol made ſuch a world of noiſe, and which had no other foundation than that nobleman's malice, in order to ruin lord Lovat by the imputation of a crime that he had never ſo much as imagined.

As ſoon as king William had ſigned this unlimited pardon, lord Lovat diſpatched his couſin Simon, ſon of David Fraſer of Brea, expreſs, in order to cauſe the great ſeal of Scotland to be affixed to it. But whether this couſin, who is an unnatural traitor, and a raſcal worthy of the gallows, had at that time ſold his chief for the money of lord Athol, as he repeatedly did afterwards, or the timidity of lord Seafield induced him to ſtop this pardon in its paſſage through the remaining forms; thus much is certain, that the pardon executed in Holland was ſuppreſſed. Lord Seafield

in

PART I. 1699. in the mean time cauſed another pardon to paſs the great ſeal without lord Lovat's having the ſmalleſt intelligence upon the ſubject, comprehending only his high treaſons againſt king William and his government; thus affording an opportunity to lord Athol ſtill to proſecute his ſuit upon the ſubject of the rape.

Lord Lovat was as innocent as the child unborn of this crime: he therefore thought proper to order a citation to be ſerved upon lord Athol and his family, by way of recrimination, for having falſely accuſed him, and for the devaſtations they had made, without orders from the ſovereign, in his provinces. He next made a progreſs through all the towns of the north, and the counties adjacent to his eſtate, where he was received in a very magnificent manner; and returned to Edinburgh with a retinue of a hundred gentlemen, who came as witneſſes to ſupport before the court of juſticiary his action againſt lord Athol.

But the very day that had been named for lord Lovat to ſupport his charge, the duke

duke of Argyle, his patron and zealous friend, was informed by lord Arbruhel, of the Argyle family, and one of the nine lords of juſticiary, that the families of Athol and Hamilton had entirely gained the other eight judges, and that, however clear were lord Lovat's innocence, he would not have a ſingle voice except his own in his favour, without an order from the king, to oblige the lords of juſticiary to do ſtrict juſtice, regardleſs of the intereſts of their relations or friends. Theſe eight judges had been appointed to their office by lord Tullibardin, the ſecretary of ſtate, and they conſidered their places as depending upon their giving ſentence according to his inclination.

PART I. 1699.

Upon this intelligence the duke of Argyle ſent for lord Lovat, who was then at the houſe of his kinſman and friend, the earl of Leven. Both of them accordingly repaired to the duke's, who informed lord Lovat of the intelligence he had received from lord Arbruhel, and concluded that it was neceſſary he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be caſt for non-appearance, till the duke ſhould be able to ſpeak to the king,

PART I. 1699.

king, either to obtain a new pardon, or an order to the court of juſticiary to do juſtice to lord Lovat, according to the laws of the kingdom, and the dictates of equity, without ſuffering themſelves to be biaſed by perſonal intereſt.

Lord Lovat, conſcious of his innocence, and having upon the ſpot ſo many witneſſes to prove it, declared that he could not conſent to the advice of the duke of Argyle, but was reſolved to bring the matter to an immediate iſſue. The duke grew warm, and remonſtrated, before lord Leven and the other lords and gentlemen who were preſent, that, if lord Lovat were as innocent as Jeſus Chriſt, the eight judges gained by his enemies would condemn him; that for his part he would not give them that ſatisfaction; adding, "My "dear Lovat, I love you too well to quit "you for a moment, till I have abſolutely "ſeen you on horſeback." Upon this he ordered to his groom immediately to bring to the door the beſt horſe in his ſtables, ready ſaddled and bridled.

The other friends of lord Lovat intreated the duke of Argyle in vain, to ſuffer him to

to ſtand the trial; his cauſe was ſo good, and his witneſſes ſo numerous, it was impoſſible the deciſion ſhould be unfavourable. The duke flew into a violent paſſion, which was a thing very unuſual, he being the man in the world that had the moſt ſelf-poſſeſſion. "Gentlemen," ſaid he, "do "you know theſe raſcally judges, better "than lord Arbruhel and I; or are the "intereſts of lord Lovat dearer to you, "than to me? If you are prepared to con-"ſent to his ruin, let me tell you I am not. "I inſiſt upon his ſetting out immediately "for the frontiers of England, whither I "will follow him in four days." PART I. 1699.

Lord Lovat was obliged to acquieſce in the advice of the duke of Argyle, his patron, his friend, and his ſole dependence. He mounted the horſe which the duke had given him, and ſet out, to his own regret, as well as to the regret of every other friend he had in the world, who were not ſufficiently acquainted with the corrupt and abandoned characters of his judges. Next day the court of juſticiary pronounced a ſentence of default or non-appearance, as it is called in Scotland, againſt him.

Lord

PART I.

1699. Lord Lovat expected the duke of Argyle upon the frontiers, where he was joined by his grace the following week, and made a moſt pleaſant journey with this amiable companion. After his arrival in London he was at the duke's houſe almoſt every day.

1700. The earl of Tullibardin was to the laſt degree exaſperated, that the duke of Argyle had, without his privity, obtained a pardon for lord Lovat. He was convinced, that king William paid more regard to the counſels of the duke than to his. Accordingly, like an aſs as he was, he carried his commiſſion of ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland to the king, ſaying, that as his majeſty had more confidence in the duke of Argyle than in him, and as he had been pleaſed without his privity to pardon the moſt incorrigible rebel and traitor in the three kingdoms, he found that he was incapable of ſerving his majeſty, and therefore thought fit to lay his commiſſion at his feet. "Conſider what you are doing," replied the king; "the commiſſion you are about "to reſign is the moſt deſirable in the whole "Scottiſh ſervice." Tullibardin replied, that

he had entirely made up his mind upon the subject, or he ſhould not have taken a ſtep of that importance. PART I. 1700.

King William, naturally of an irritable temper, immediately flew into a paſſion, and ſaid to Tullibardin, "I always "knew you for a fool and a coward; I "now ſee that you are an abſolute mad-"man. I not only receive your commiſ-"ſion, but I forbid you for ever to enter "into my councils, or to concern yourſelf "with any of my affairs. Retire immedi-"ately to your own houſe."

When lord Tullibardin had left the royal cloſet, his majeſty entered the antichamber where there was a great number of Scotch and Engliſh nobility, to whom the king immediately related what this fool had been doing. "At the ſame "time that he kept me in perfect igno-"rance," ſaid the king, "he ſet all Scot-"land in flames, and employed himſelf to "ruin an ancient family of that kingdom, "to revenge a pretended affront that had "been put upon his ſiſter. But I have "real pleaſure in pardoning the young no-"bleman,

PART I. 1700.

"bleman, whom this fool has been per-
"ſecuting, and who has more merit than
"he and all his family." General lord Teviot, who was preſent at this declaration of king William againſt lord Tullibardin, in favour of lord Lovat, and who had always been much attached to the latter, wrote to him the particulars the moment he left the antichamber.

The carl of Tullibardin, enraged at this treatment which he had drawn upon himſelf, immediately threw himſelf into the party that oppoſed king William in the Scottiſh parliament, at the head of which was his brother-in-law, the duke of Hamilton. Thus the preſent lord Athol, after being the violent partiſan of king William, and the only man in Scotland to compel the officers of the Scottiſh army to take the oath of abjuration againſt king James and the pretended prince of Wales, after having held in priſon and perſecuted to deſtruction the laird of Balleahan, and the Stewart lairds of the county of Athol for having taken arms in favour of king James, had the impudence, finding himſelf diſgraced by king William,

to believe, not only that he ſhould be received with open arms by the exiled family, but that he ſhould be able to trample upon lord Lovat and his family, which had always been loyal, by his intrigues, and by the credit of his brother-in-law the duke of Hamilton at the court of St. Germain's; and this for no other reaſon, than becauſe he conſidered lord Lovat as his perſonal enemy, who had it in his power to inſtitute a ſuit againſt him, that muſt infallibly have terminated in his ruin.

And however abſurd and preſumptuous theſe hopes may appear, lord Athol was not diſappointed in them. The misfortunes of lord Lovat, in firſt embroiling himſelf with the earl of Middleton, and afterwards in manifeſting a zeal in the buſineſs of Scotland more ſanguine than was acceptable to the queen dowager, gave a moſt extraordinary and improbable ſucceſs to the intrigues of lord Athol, and the exertions of the duke of Hamilton for the impriſonment of their antagoniſt: thus putting him out of a condition, to take poſſeſſion of his eſtates, and to proſecute lord Athol for tyrannical and violent oppreſſions which have cauſed

PART I.

him to be regarded over the whole kingdom of Scotland as a real tyrant, and lord Lovat and his clan as the object of univerſal compaſſion, attachment and eſteem.

If lord Perth will give himſelf the trouble to peruſe theſe memoirs, and if his near alliance with lord Middleton will permit him to confeſs truths advantageous to lord Lovat, he is qualified to bear teſtimony to the veracity of what I have here advanced in relation to the court of St. Germains; and he was an ocular witneſs of the greater part of the events which I am about to place in their true light in the ſecond part of this hiſtory.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE OF LORD LOVAT.

PART THE SECOND.

From the Acceſſion of Queen Anne to Lord Lovat's Arrival in England in the Cloſe of the Year 1714.

Sed quæ præclara, & proſpera tanti
Ut rebus lætis par ſit menſura malorum.
Dat veniam corvis, vexat cenſura columbas.
Sed ſpoliatis arma ſuperſunt.

JUVENAL, Sat.

SECT. I.

PART II. §. 1. 1702.

LORD Lovat, after ſo many dangers, and ſuch long adverſity, was in the full poſſeſſion of the honours and eſtates of his family at the death of king William. He was not ignorant of the miſunderſtanding which had ſubſiſted previous to this event, between king William and the princeſs of Denmark; he knew that that princeſs had entertained a ſtrong attachment to

PART II. 1702.

the duke of Hamilton and the earl of Tullibardin; believing them firm in the intereſts of king James, her father, to whom ſhe had eagerly reconciled herſelf, exhibiting every mark of repentance and remorſe for having contributed to his misfortunes. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, and having always been zealous for king James, lately deceaſed, lord Lovat, upon the preſent intelligence, immediately proclaimed the pretended prince of Wales in his province; reſolved either to perform ſome diſtinguiſhed action in his favour, or to make advantageous terms for himſelf with queen Anne.

Averſe however to take any conſiderable ſtep without the advice and permiſſion of Archibald duke of Argyle, who was his patron, and to whom he owed his life, he immediately waited upon that nobleman, and told him frankly the deſigns he had formed. His grace, who, without the ſhadow of flattery, may be ſaid to have been one of the wiſeſt men in the three kingdoms, and who had a tender friendſhip for lord Lovat, told him, that the tables were turned upon him and all the friends of king William; that

that the duke of Hamilton, and lord Athol whom queen Anne created duke of Athol ſome days after her acceſſion to the crown*, were the greateſt favourites of the new monarch; that all the queen's attachments were to ſuch as had been enemies to king William and Jacobites by profeſſion; that of conſequence his own head was not in ſafety, and, for a much ſtronger reaſon, that of lord Lovat was in great danger. He therefore adviſed him to withdraw into France, and to do the beſt he could in that country for himſelf, and for the indemnification of his friends, provided his enterpriſe ſucceeded. 1702.

Lord Lovat accordingly took leave of the duke, his moſt faithful ally and deareſt friend, with tears in his eyes, and a thouſand proteſtations of gratitude and attach-

* King William died on the eighth of March 1702. The old marquis of Athol died in the beginning of 1703; and, about a month after his deceaſe, John, late earl of Tullibardin, was created marquis of Tullibardin and duke of Athol. Lord Lovat has every where given him only his father's title; partly perhaps becauſe it was by this he was known at the court of St. Germains. The partial confuſion, that is created by the different ſtyles allotted to ſeveral of the Engliſh and Scottiſh nobility by this court and that of London, is well known.

PART II. 1702.

ment. He had alſo the honour to take leave of lord Lorn, the preſent duke of Argyle, who, though very young, diſapproved the advice of his father, and told lord Lovat, that he was going to ruin himſelf for the unfortunate and ungrateful court of St. Germains; that for his own part he would ſhed the laſt drop of his blood ſooner than take part with a family, which had practiſed ſo much injuſtice and cruelty againſt the houſe of Argyle.

Lord Lovat however conſidered that he was in danger of his life under the reign of a princeſs, who had choſen for her favourites his perſonal enemies. He had felt from his earlieſt infancy an extreme bias in favour of the family of Stuart. He had obtained the conſent of the duke of Argyle, whoſe will was a law to him. He now therefore thought of nothing but giving ſolidity to his enterpriſe, by engaging the chiefs of the clans, and thoſe noblemen of the lowlands, whom he knew for Jacobites, and in whoſe intrigues he had formerly been engaged for the intereſts of the late king James, to enter into his deſign.

He

PART II. 1702.

He immediately viſited the chiefs of the clans, and a great number of the lords of the lowlands, with William earl Mariſhal, and the earl of Errol lord conſtable of Scotland at their head; and expoſtulated with them in ſo ſpirited a manner, and urged with ſo much force the intereſts of the court of St. Germains, that he engaged them to grant him a general commiſſion, on their part, and on the part of all the loyal Scots whom they repreſented, to go into France. They aſſured the court of St. Germains, and the king of France, that they were ready to take up arms and hazard their lives and fortunes for their intereſts; and intreated them, to ſend over the perſon whom they ſtiled their young monarch, with an officer to command them, and the ſuccours that might be neceſſary for ſuch an enterpriſe.

Lord Lovat, having received the commiſſion that he had deſired with ſo much ardour, ſet out upon his expedition with extreme alacrity. He paſſed through England and Holland, in order to go into France by the way of Flanders, the only road, which was not ſhut up by the war

PART II. 1702.

which had juſt broken out. After ſeveral imminent dangers in Holland and in Flanders, too long to be here recounted, he arrived at Paris with this important commiſſion about the month of September 1702.

His couſin-german, ſir John Maclean, chief of a very brave and conſiderable clan in Scotland, had reſided ten years at the court of St. Germains, and paſſed for a man of ability and good ſenſe. Lord Lovat upon his arrival ſent for him expreſs, as a perſon proper to inſtruct him in the ſtate of that court. Sir John Maclean accordingly came to Paris; and, lord Lovat having opened to him the ſubject of his journey, told him that the perſon to whom he ſhould addreſs himſelf, was lord Perth, who had been chancellor of Scotland when king James came into France. Lord Drummond his ſon, lord Mariſhal his ſon-in-law, and the lord conſtable his brother-in-law, were in the number of thoſe who had ſent lord Lovat into France; and were all of them greatly able to ſerve the young prince. Lord Lovat therefore felt no pain in addreſſing lord Perth, believing, upon the

the repreſentation he had received, that he had more power at the court of St. Germains than any body elſe, and not having the ſmalleſt knowledge of lord Middleton. PART II. 1702.

Sir John Maclean left lord Lovat at Paris, and went alone to St. Germains, to ſpeak to lord Perth, and afterwards to the queen; and in two days returned to conduct him to court. He led him in a private manner to the cloſet of lord Perth, who received him with that goodneſs which is natural to him, and with unequivocal marks of friendſhip and ſatisfaction. Lord Lovat explained to him his buſineſs and the condition of affairs, and he was charmed to ſee ſo conſiderable a project on foot, for the reſtoration of the king, and at the head of which were the principal nobility of Scotland, his kinſmen and relations.

Lord Perth then inſtructed lord Lovat in what manner he ſhould ſpeak to the queen. He ſaid there was one thing that he muſt requeſt, without which his project, and all that the perſons who had ſent him could do, would be ineffectual. Every "true friend of his majeſty," ſaid lord

PART II. 1702.

Perth, "is perſuaded that lord Middle-"ton is a faithleſs traitor, a penſionary "of the Engliſh parliament, to give intel-"ligence of all that paſſes at the court of "St. Germains. The late king," he added, "and even the queen herſelf ſuſpected "him of having diſcovered their ſecrets to "the prince of Orange." Sir John Maclean, who was alſo in the cloſet, confirmed what lord Perth ſaid. They both agreed in giving lord Lovat a black and deteſtable picture of the earl of Middleton, and intreated him to engage the queen upon her royal word, not to diſcover a ſyllable of his project to this nobleman.

The young nobleman was an entire ſtranger to lord Middleton. He did not know that he was at that time at daggers-drawing with lord Perth, and his brother the earl of Melfort. He was totally ignorant, that ſir John Maclean had been diſobliged by him in the appointment of a gentleman of the privy chamber to the king, which had been promiſed him, and was given to another. He therefore gave implicitly into the ſnare, and was credulous and honeſt enough to attend to all the precautions that his kinſman and

his patron ſuggeſted. A traitor to his king and country, he became his enemy without knowing him; and, in his firſt audience of the queen, he exacted her royal promiſe never to communicate a ſyllable of his project to lord Middleton, as he was extremely ſuſpected by her moſt faithful ſubjects. PART II. 1702.

Such was the origin of lord Lovat's misfortunes. The queen readily complied with his requeſt, telling him that the late king and herſelf had had reaſon to ſuſpect lord Middleton's fidelity in a diſcovery that the prince of Orange had made of an affair, which regarded the king and the electors Palatine and of Bavaria, and which had been communicated to nobody but lord Middleton. Thus the queen herſelf appeared at that time to have no confidence in him.

Lord Lovat immediately began to work with the queen in digeſting the buſineſs upon which he had been ſent. At her majeſty's requeſt the marquis de Torcy, miniſter and ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs to the king of France, and monſeigneur

PART II. 1702.

neur Gualterio, nuncio of the pope, entered into the project; and lord Lovat waited, by her orders, upon each of these statesmen, to inform them of the situation and state of affairs in Scotland. M. de Torcy expressed himself to lord Lovat, in the first audience he had of that minister at Marli, in strong terms, respecting the affection of the king, his master, for the Scottish nation, and the confidence he might place in the receiving every sort of succour.

The marquis de Callieres, secretary of the cabinet to the king, his plenipotentiary at Ryswic, and who was a man of great ability in state affairs, had been thoroughly informed in the concerns of the court of St. Germains by his friend lord Perth. Upon this account the marquis de Torcy and the papal nuncio, his intimate friends, earnestly begged of him to work with lord Perth, lord Lovat and sir John Maclean, in forwarding the Scottish project. The papal nuncio, soon after cardinal Gualterio, and whom I shall here distinguish by that title, came often to the office of M. de Callieres to observe their progress, and to assist

assist them with his advice, he being one of the most skilful men in Europe in political affairs. PART II. 1702.

All these persons were at that time witnesses to the zeal and assiduity of lord Lovat for the interest of the court of St. Germains. As long as the queen kept the secret, the affair went on in the most prosperous manner; and her majesty was so passionately desirous of its success, that she said twenty times to lord Lovat, that she had sent her jewels to Paris, to be sold, in order to send the twenty thousand crowns*, which lord Lovat represented to be necessary to arm and equip their friends, to the chiefs of the highlands in Scotland.

But no sooner was the secret discovered, than the face of the business was entirely changed. The earl of Middleton, having learned that lord Lovat was incognito at the court, and that he worked at a project which was to be executed by the relations or allies of the family of Perth, his declared enemies, for the restoration of the king, believed that he was ruined without re-

* 2500l.

source

PART II. 1702.

ſource if the project ſhould ſucceed. He was not in the wrong; for, if the Scottiſh inſurrection had been executed, his diſgrace would have been inevitable. Preferring therefore his own private views to the intereſts of his king and maſter, he reſolved to ſave himſelf by undermining and ruining the project.

It was impoſſible to ſucceed in this undertaking without ruining lord Lovat, who was the firſt mover in the affair, and the repreſentative of all the loyal Scots. Lord Middleton therefore from this moment plotted the deſtruction of Lovat, and never loſt ſight of his purpoſe, till he had thruſt him into a dungeon. Even then he did not ceaſe to fear, that lord Lovat might one day divulge the truth of the whole affair to the king and queen. He therefore inſinuated to them ſo black an idea of lord Lovat, that they believed him the greateſt traitor in the three kingdoms; though there is not a ſingle nobleman without exception, who ſerved them more faithfully, nor a Scotſman from the death of lord Dundee, who rendered ſo great ſervices to their intereſts.

Lord

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1702.

Lord Middleton, however, in purſuit of his deſign, ſet out with decrying lord Lovat to the marquis de Torcy; at the ſame time abuſing all the highlanders of Scotland, obſerving, that they were no better than a kind of banditti, fit enough to pillage the lowlands, and to carry off cattle, but incapable of forming a regular corps, or of looking in the face the enemies of the king. His lordſhip had forgotten, that his father had not riſen to the rank of a peer of Scotland from a private ſoldier of the regiment of the uncle of lord Lovat in the ſervice of the great Guſtavus Adolphus, but for having commanded, after his return into Scotland, and his deſertion from the army of the protector who had beſtowed upon him the rank of colonel, the highland clans in the ſervice of king Charles the ſecond. In reality, it was to the clans of Fraſer and Macleod, that the firſt lord Middleton was indebted for his ſubſiſtence for many years.

Lord Lovat was no ſooner acquainted with the calumnies that had been diſſeminated againſt himſelf and the highlanders, than he complained in a very lively manner

PART II. 1702.

manner to the queen. Her majeſty had ſtill ſo much goodneſs for him, and ſo much confidence in his zeal, that ſhe uſually gave him three audiences every week. She therefore paid conſiderable attention to his remonſtrances; and replied, that if lord Middleton ſaid a word againſt either him or the highlanders, ſhe would immediately diſmiſs him from her ſervice. The earl however denied with oaths that he had ever uttered what was imputed to him; and added, that he ſhould be the moſt ungrateful of men if he ſpoke againſt thoſe to whom he was indebted for his rank; but that on the contrary he ſhould never forget what he owed to the highlanders, and above all to the houſe of Lovat.

Theſe aſſurances however did not entirely ſatisfy lord Perth; and perceiving that cardinal Gualterio had a very particular friendſhip for lord Lovat, he recommended it to that lord, to intreat his eminence to cauſe the queen to be ſpoken to by the marquis de Torcy on the part of the king of France, to communicate no affair which reſpected Scotland, to any nobleman of her court, except to lord Perth, lord Lovat, and thoſe

thoſe whom they ſhould have admitted to a ſhare in the buſineſs. The cardinal had much credit at the French court, and was infinitely eſteemed by the ſovereign. He therefore eaſily brought about what lord Lovat deſired, and the queen anew promiſed compliance. PART II. §. 1. 1702.

Lord Middleton readily perceived that ſhe ſpoke to him in a manner more cautious and reſerved than uſual. He foreſaw her entire alienation, and his own ruin. He therefore at this moment brought his laſt mine to play upon the fortreſs; which had its complete effect, defeated his enemies, overturned the projected inſurrection, and put a final termination to the credit of lord Lovat. 1703.

All on a ſudden, he retired into the convent of the Benedictines at Paris, from whence he wrote to the queen, humbly to intreat her, to permit him to paſs the remainder of his days in entire ſecluſion from ſecular affairs. He pretended that he had been miraculouſly inſpired to reconcile himſelf to the holy Catholic church, by hearing the bleſſed ſacrament carried along

PART II. §. 1. 1703.

with the ſound of a little bell before it, to the apartment of his ſon, lord Clermont, who was at the point of death. Upon this he had immediately ſet out for Paris, publicly to abjure the proteſtant religion; and his next ſtep was, by a memorial, full of penitence and religious ſorrow, to demand permiſſion to retire for the reſt of his life, in order to expiate the ſcandal of his paſt impieties.

The court of St. Germains was extremely divided upon this new event. Lord Perth and all the moſt zealous ſervants of the young king exclaimed loudly, that lord Middleton had turned Roman Catholic in France, exactly as lord Sunderland had done in England, for the ſole purpoſe of betraying his ſovereign with the greater ſecurity. On the other hand it was vigorouſly maintained by his friends, that the hand of God undoubtedly appeared in the miraculous manner of his converſion. The queen entered entirely into their ſentiments; and, in ſpite of the hypocritical remonſtrances of her miniſter, beſeeching her to permit him to remain in the convent, her majeſty recalled, and even laid her royal injunctions upon him

him to return to court. These injunctions he was unable to resist. The queen received him with extreme joy; and from that moment he engrossed an entire ascendency over her. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

Some time after lord Lovat, perceiving how ill his business advanced, reproached the queen with the confidence she had newly placed in lord Middleton after all she had formerly said against that nobleman. The queen replied, that it was true she had suspected him, and she believed not without reason; but that after a conversion evidently so miraculous she could no longer doubt his fidelity; she was even satisfied, that the interference of a man so highly distinguished of providence, would bring down the divine favour and blessing on her affairs. From this period lord Lovat perceived all his credit at the court of St. Germains to be at an end. He found his project, and the affairs that had brought him into France, overthrown. And this was so much the case, that the queen, who had often said, she was resolved to sell her jewels in order to give sixty thousand francs to the highlanders of Scotland, ex-

PART II. §. 1. 1703.

erted herſelf to perſuade the king of France not to apply this ſum of money on his part for the proſecution of the affair, after that prince had had the generoſity, through her majeſty's interceſſion, to iſſue an order to his treaſury to pay the money into the hands of lord Lovat, without coſting her a penny. Lord Lovat immediately determined to waſh his hands of the affair, and to return without delay into Scotland. But his kinſman lord Perth, cardinal Gualterio, and the marquis de Torcy engaged him to have patience, and to ſtay a little while to ſee whether any thing could be done.

The queen on her part, unwilling to diſoblige him, obtained for him, through the intereſt of madame de Maintenon, cardinal Gualterio, cardinal de Noailles and the marquis de Torcy, a private audience of the moſt Chriſtian king, who had never before granted that favour to any foreigner, let his quality be what it would.

At this audience there was no perſon preſent except the marquis de Torcy, who ſtood behind the royal chair. Lord Lovat enlarged upon the antient alliances between France

France and Scotland; obſerving, that the Scots aſſiſted by the French, had frequently beaten the Engliſh, and that, if they were now honoured with the protection of the greateſt king that had ever filled the throne of France, they would not certainly be leſs ſucceſsful than they had been in former inſtances. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

His moſt Chriſtian majeſty replied, with a look of much benignity, that himſelf and the whole French nation had their hearts unfeignedly Scottiſh; and that, ſince lord Lovat had been choſen to repreſent the whole body of loyal Scots, he deſired to be underſtood as from that moment renewing with him all ancient alliances between the two nations. The king promiſed at all times to aſſiſt the the Scots with troops, money, and every thing that might be neceſſary to ſupport them againſt the Engliſh. He added, that he was perfectly acquainted with the fidelity of lord Lovat and his family, and that he might depend at all times upon his favourable remembrance.

The moſt Chriſtian king then quitted lord Lovat with a moſt gracious and engaging

PART II. §. 1. 1703.

air, extremely natural to this celebrated monarch. When lord Lovat retired at the oppoſite door of the cloſet where the king had left him, the marquis de Torcy and the marquis de Callieres appeared ready to receive him, and had the politeneſs to ſay that the king had been highly ſatisfied with him. Two days after, the queen ſent a billet to cardinal Gualterio, informing him, that ſhe had that day received a viſit from the king of France, who had the goodneſs to ſay, that he did not know whether lord Lovat were pleaſed with him, but that he had been extremely pleaſed with that nobleman: intreating her at the ſame time never again to demand of him a private audience for any of her ſubjects, ſince he had at no other time expoſed his perſon in that manner to any foreigner. The queen concluded with intreating the cardinal to felicitate lord Lovat, who was then at Paris, upon the ſubject.

Lord Lovat, being very young and ſanguine, was charmed with the unexampled honour he had received from the moſt Chriſtian king, and ſenſibly touched with the great attentions he experienced

from his miniſters. He could not reſtrain himſelf from frequently expreſſing his gratitude and zeal for the intereſts of the king of France. This was a handle eagerly laid hold of by the earl of Middleton, who conſtantly ſurrounded lord Lovat with his creatures, to alienate from him the mind of the queen, and to ruin the project of a Scottiſh inſurrection. PART II. §. 1. 1705.

Lord Middleton endeavoured to perſuade the queen, that, as lord Lovat was full of ambition and enterpriſe, he had been gained by the French miniſters and by cardinal Gualterio, to excite at all adventures a civil war in Scotland. He added, that indeed ſuch a war would be extremely advantageous to France, but that it would ruin inſtead of advancing the affairs of the king her ſon; that the Scots could never ſupport hoſtilities againſt England for any length of time; and that the moſt loyal houſes muſt be expected to periſh in ſuch an inſurrection. He obſerved, that ſuch a ſtep would alſo overthrow the deſign entertained by the parliament of England, of formally recalling their rightful ſovereign: a deſign, of which he pretended to be aſſured, though I believe

PART II. §. 1. 1703.

very falſely, by the letters of lord Nottingham, lord Wharton, and lord Godolphin. * Lord Perth, who was informed that the queen gave into this ſnare of lord Middleton to ruin the project of Scotland, communicated intelligence of it to lord Lovat, and warmly intreated him to diſabuſe her majeſty.

Lord Lovat ſpoke to the queen that very evening, repreſenting to her in a ſtrong manner, that there could be none but concealed traitors who would endeavour to diſtinguiſh between her intereſts and the intereſts of France; that her majeſty had no other reſource under heaven but the aſſiſtance of France to ſupport her loyal ſubjects; that thoſe, who would have it believed, that a civil war in Scotland would interfere with the intentions of the Engliſh parliament in favour of their rightful ſovereign, ought to fix a term within which parliament was to declare for the king as they pretended; that, if they fixed no term, it was an inconteſtible proof that their promiſes

* A ſtroke is drawn through each of theſe names in the manuſcript.

were

were intended only to amuſe and lull a ſleep the court of St. Germains, as they had ſucceſsfully done for fifteen years paſt; and that, for theſe reaſons, her majeſty ought to conſider all perſons that inſiſted upon ſuch pretences as traitors. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

The queen proteſted before God, that ſhe had no hope in the Engliſh parliament; that all her expectations were derived from the generoſity and friendſhip of the king of France, from the loyalty of the faithful Scots, and above all from the highlanders. Lord Lovat replied in theſe very words; "With theſe views, what reaſon can "induce you, madam, to reject the coun- "ſels of the French adminiſtration, and of "cardinal Gualterio, whoſe attachment is ſo "unqueſtionable, for putting the loyal Scots "in a condition to reſtore their ſovereign?"

Her majeſty now promiſed in the moſt unreſerved manner to conform herſelf to this advice for the future; and, as ſhe ſaw that lord Middleton brought every engine into play to counteract the projects and ſervices of lord Lovat, ſhe reſolved to reconcile them, as being the ſtep which ſeemed moſt neceſſary

PART II. §. 1. 1703.

neceſſary to the ſucceſs of her affairs; and to endeavour to derive advantage from their united counſels. Lord Middleton, who eaſily perceived that this reconciliation would place him in a more advantageous ſituation than ever for counteracting the expedition and ruining lord Lovat, expreſſed himſelf ardently deſirous of it. The queen ſpoke upon the ſubject to the cardinal, knowing the extreme friendſhip he had for lord Lovat, and engaged his eminence to perſuade him to embrace it.

The cardinal accordingly warmly intreated lord Lovat to indulge the queen upon this article. He obſerved, that he would be as much maſter as ever of what he choſe to communicate, and what to conceal from lord Middleton; that it was always neceſſary to be on our guard with a reconciled enemy; but that in the mean time it was expedient, to enter into an apparent intimacy with the favourite. Lord Lovat had an unbounded deference for the cardinal, and conſented, at his intreaty, to meet lord Middleton at his eminence's apartments.

Lord

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Lord Middleton accordingly came thither, and lord Lovat, who went there every day like a child of the houſe, found the earl and the cardinal together. His eminence witneſſed the proteſtations of friendſhip that lord Middleton made to lord Lovat at this interview, expreſſing his gratitude for the obligations that his father had experienced from his own family, and that of his mother, who was daughter of the chief of the Macleods.

As lord Lovat was naturally plain and ſincere in his manners, he perſuaded himſelf that the profeſſions of lord Middleton were honeſt and unfeigned. The letters, which he afterward addreſſed to lord Lovat from St. Germains, and which are ſtill among his lordſhip's papers, were ſo full of proteſtations of attachment and friendſhip, that in ſpite of the precautions that had been inſinuated to him by the cardinal, this nobleman admitted them all to be as true as the goſpel. He made ſimilar proteſtations on his ſide.

The deſign of lord Middleton being thus far advanced, he next employed his confident,

PART II. §. 1. 1703. confident, Mrs. Fox, the great female ſtateſman of the court of St. Germains, to draw out of lord Lovat all that he intended to do when he arrived in Scotland. It was this Mrs. Fox, who was conſtantly employed in paſſing and repaſſing between St. Germains and London, to cultivate the pretended commerce between lord Middleton and thoſe Engliſh noblemen, who promiſed to cauſe the queen and the parliament of England to declare for king James the third. Theſe very noblemen afterwards appeared among the moſt zealous partiſans of the houſe of Hanover.

I will beg pardon of this lady for a moment, while I return to mention a circumſtance which I had forgotten in its place. For many months before the queen had entirely divulged the Scottiſh project, lord Lovat had worked with the miniſters of Louis the fourteenth. He obtained of the court of France, to ſend an army of five thouſand men to ſupport the loyal Scots. They were alſo to ſend officers, money, ammunition and arms, ſufficient for ſuch an enterpriſe. Every thing had already been prepared. Lord Lovat had even received from

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the marſhal de Vauban, with whom he had communicated ſeveral days for that purpoſe, his grand ſecret for the conſtruction of folding ladders, with which it was propoſed to ſcale Fort William, formerly Inverlochy, a fortreſs, conſtructed in the midſt of the mountains, and which ſerved as a curb upon the highlanders, particularly the clans of the Camerons and the Macdonalds.

The affair was in this ſtate of preparation, when lord Middleton felt himſelf more than ever obliged to employ the aſcendancy, that his pretended miraculous converſion had given him over the mind of the queen, for its ſubverſion. All thoſe ſubtleties, pretexts and chicanery, in which the mind of this ſtateſman was ſo remarkably fertile, were exhauſted. He at length hit upon a laſt reſource, which ſucceeded beyond his moſt ſanguine expectations. He perſuaded the queen to repreſent to Louis the fourteenth, that, granting all that lord Lovat had ſaid, reſpecting the reſolution of the Scots to take arms, were true, when he left that country, yet, having already reſided many months at the court of France for the completion of his ſcheme,

PART II. §. 1. 1703.

ſcheme, and in that time having received no intelligence from Scotland, the face of affairs in that country might be now entirely changed. He therefore moſt humbly intreated her majeſty to defer the execution of the Scottiſh project, till ſhe ſhould have ſent lord Lovat back into that country, in order to aſcertain how far things remained there in the condition he had left them; adding, that the moſt Chriſtian king ought to depute an envoy on his part along with lord Lovat, to learn from the mouths of the loyal Scots their real intentions in favour of their lawful ſovereign, and the kingdom of France.

Louis the fourteenth perceiving that the queen was obſtinately bent upon not conſenting to the Scottiſh inſurrection till after this ſpecious examination, conſented that lord Lovat ſhould be ſent home. He agreed at the ſame time, to commiſſion a gentleman on his part to learn the final reſolution of the Scottiſh noblemen, previous to his ſending them the troops, and the various other ſuccours that were propoſed.

It

It was at this period that lord Lovat, seeing himself suspected, and persuaded that his project and the pains he had taken were lost, absolutely determined to give up all concern in the affair. But he was not permitted to follow his own inclinations. Cardinal Gualterio, the marquis de Torcy, the marquis de Calieres and lord Perth united to recommend it to him not to abandon an enterprise, so glorious for his person and family, and so useful to his king and country. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

M. de Torcy in particular, who was highly irritated at the conduct of lord Middleton and the weakness of the queen, told lord Lovat, for whom he entertained much attachment and condescension, that the counterplot of lord Middleton ought not to discourage him, for that he had nothing to do but to chuse what Scotsman he pleased to accompany him in the character of envoy from the king of France. He added, that, as the king wished the highlanders to take arms immediately, in case they were in a capacity to support themselves till the arrival of the French succours, it would be proper for lord Lovat to take with him colonel Peter

PART II. §. 1.

1703. ter Graham and major George Fraſer, who was his diſtant relation, both very brave officers, to aſſiſt in the enterpriſe. Lord Lovat obtained at the ſame time a promiſe from the marquis de Torcy, to diſpatch after him his couſin german, ſir John Maclean, with orders to join him, and to give him a thouſand crowns * for the expences of his journey. The marquis de Torcy performed this promiſe a few months after.

Lord Lovat, perceiving that the nomination of an envoy for the king of France was devolved upon him, choſe for that purpoſe captain John Murray, a moſt reſpectable and gallant gentleman, who had been many years in the French ſervice. Mr. Murray was brother to the laird of Abercairny, in the county of Perth, the moſt ancient branch, and the true head of the family of Murray, though the branch of Athol have falſely arrogated to itſelf a ſuperiority, which the laird of Abercairny, and many other branches of the Murray's, more ancient than that of Athol, have never acknowledged. Captain Murray was the fitteſt perſon in the world for that negotia-

* 125 l.

tion,

tion, being deſcended from this illuſtrious houſe, and related more or leſs remotely to the firſt nobility in Scotland. He was charmed with ſo honourable an employment; and he was promoted, and in ſome ſort rewarded for his undertaking, previous to his departure.

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Cardinal Gualterio, ſtill further to ſooth lord Lovat, and in order to beſtow an additional degree of ſecurity upon his perſon, an object to which his eminence paid the moſt condeſcending attention, propoſed to him to accept a commiſſion of brigadier-general in the ſervice of the king of France. The commiſſion was accordingly procured for him by the marquis de Torcy. Lord Lovat received from this miniſter the written inſtructions of the court of France to take arms in caſe a proper opportunity occurred, and ſix thouſand francs * from the royal treaſury to defray the expences of his journey. He was now upon the point of ſetting out with Mr. John Murray, colonel Graham, and major Fraſer.

* 250l.

PART II. §. 1. 1703.

It was at this period that lord Middleton, conſtantly apprehenſive from the good underſtanding that ſubſiſted between cardinal Gualterio, the marquis de Torcy, and the other French miniſters, and lord Lovat, engaged the queen to bring about the ſeeming reconciliation between him and that nobleman, of which I have already ſpoken, and in the forwarding of which I had mentioned the intervention of Mrs. Fox.

This hireling of lord Middleton was the intimate friend of ſir John Maclean, at whoſe houſe ſhe took an opportunity to meet lord Lovat. Taking this nobleman aſide, ſhe told him that lord Middleton was perfectly charmed with his behaviour, and reſolved to make him, his only confidential friend, of all the noblemen that had followed their exiled maſter. She added, that in order to take meaſures with lord Lovat reſpecting the commiſſions and honours, which it was proper for his maſter to beſtow upon him, and which he was deſirous of expediting, he would take it as a favour, if lord Lovat would give him a private interview at his *petite maiſon*, hard by the convent of the Benedictines at Paris, where he

he often retired in pious ſeclusion from the world, and held his conferences with Mrs. Fox and his other ſpies. Lord Lovat entered without ſuſpicion into the ſnare that was ſpread for him. He did not fail to repair at the day and hour appointed to the rendezvous, when, in the room of finding lord Middleton, he was introduced to Mrs. Fox, who was alone, and negligently repoſed upon a kind of bed. As ſhe had a great deal of wit, ſhe entertained lord Lovat very agreeably for two hours with the fine qualities of lord Middleton, and the intrigues of the adminiſtration. At the end of that time lord Middleton arrived, and Mrs. Fox quitted the apartment.

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The ſecretary, after having highly extolled the generoſity of lord Lovat in the undertaking ſo extenſive and noble a deſign, proteſted, that, if the queen had not felt herſelf compelled by the ſervices of his houſe and his own extraordinary merit to beſtow upon him uncommon favours, he would upon his knees have intreated her to accord to him ſuch marks of diſtinction, as had never been granted to any peer of the

PART II. §. 1. 1703.

kingdom of Scotland. Let it be obſerved by the way, that what lord Middleton ſaid was literally true, and that he kept his word in the moſt religious manner. Lord Lovat was afterwards thruſt for thirty-two days into a horrible and noiſome dungeon, a diſtinction, which had never been beſtowed upon any Scottiſh nobleman before him.

Lord Middleton had informed the court of France, that the commiſſions granted by the late king James were annulled by his death; and that it would be neceſſary for the young king, either to grant new commiſſions, or to iſſue full powers under his ſign manual, to renew in his abſence the commiſſions which the late king had granted to the loyal Scots. The court of France, having reflected upon this repreſentation, applied to the queen to iſſue theſe full powers to lord Lovat. Her majeſty conſented, and commanded her miniſter to prepare them in the moſt authentic form. He accordingly dictated to the young king, who wrote them all with his own hand, and ſigned them J. R. at top and at bottom. This inſtrument lord Middleton had brought

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brought in his pocket, and delivering it to lord Lovat, "See here," ſaid he, "the "moſt honourable commiſſion, and the "moſt ample powers that ever king grant-"ed to a ſubject." This inſtrument, ſo flattering to his perſon and houſe, is ſtill carefully preſerved among the papers of lord Lovat. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

After a multitude of careſſes, the ſecretary aſked, whether lord Lovat were determined to take arms, and in what manner he intended to begin the war. As this nobleman conceived lord Middleton to be ſincere in forwarding the expedition, and in his unbounded profeſſions of friendſhip, he told him very frankly that his deſign was to take arms at all events, ſince the inſtructions, that the marquis de Torcy had given him on the part of the king of France, directed him to do ſo, provided he could ſupport himſelf till the arrival of ſuccours. He demonſtrated to lord Middleton, that he ſhould infallibly be able to maintain the war for many years, ſince, granting that the highlanders loſt ſeveral battles, the enemy could not profit of their victory in ſo impracticable a country. This reſolution ap-

PART II. §. 1. 1703.

parently renewed the apprehenſions of the ſecretary for the execution of a project that involved in it his ruin. He however diſſembled his fears, and beſtowed infinite commendations upon the firmneſs and ardour of lord Lovat.

This interview was only two days before his lordſhip was to ſet out for Scotland with Mr. John Murray and his other companions: he had already taken leave of her majeſty and the king. After having therefore regulated his correſpondence with lord Middleton, and mutually promiſed a ſincere attachment and eternal friendſhip, lord Lovat took leave of that nobleman with a thouſand embraces.

Next day lord Lovat was extremely ſurpriſed, while he was employed in preparing his baggage and equipage, at receiving a note from the queen, commanding him to wait upon her at ten o'clock in the evening at her ordinary audience, her majeſty having forgotten ſomething of conſequence that ſhe wiſhed to communicate to him. Lord Lovat obeyed; and, after the queen had had the goodneſs to make uſe of a

thou-

thouſand gracious and obliging expreſſions, ſhe read to him a billet addreſſed to the duke of Gordon, which contained only three words, to intreat him to be perſuaded of her grateful remembrance, and to place an entire confidence in the bearer. Putting this billet into his hands, ſhe aſked him, whether he intended to take up arms immediately upon his arrival. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

Lord Lovat replied that he did intend it, provided the opportunity were favourable. "My God," ſaid the queen, "ſuch a "proceeding would ruin every thing, and "prevent the court of France from ſend-"ing you any aſſiſtance." Lord Lovat replied, that ſo far from having that effect, it was the only method by which the court of France could be obliged to become an auxiliary; that the marquis de Torcy conſidered it in that light; and had commanded him on the part of the moſt Chriſtian king to take arms if he were able to ſupport himſelf till the arrival of ſuccours. "And I," rejoined the queen, "poſitively enjoin you not to take arms, "till you have particular orders from my-"ſelf." Lord Lovat remained ſilent, and

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the queen immediately with the moſt affectionate expreſſions wiſhed him all poſſible ſucceſs. He accordingly kiſſed her majeſty's hand, and took leave for the ſecond time.

The following day he took leave of his friend, cardinal Gualterio, who recommended it to him, to regulate himſelf by the written inſtructions he had received from the court of France, and not by the verbal orders of the queen, who was governed by a man, notoriouſly the inveterate enemy of the Scottiſh project. Lord Lovat ſet out with the deſign of taking arms, in order to oblige France to ſend the ſuccours, which the moſt Chriſtian king had ſo poſitively promiſed with his own mouth.

Mean time lord Middleton, who never loſt ſight of a ſingle opportunity of ruining the Scottiſh inſurrection, ſecretly diſpatched James Murray *, his ſworn creature, his ſpy, and a man who had no other means of ſubſiſtence, poſt for Scotland. This James Murray went by the way of

* Brother to ſir David Murray of Stanhope.

Hol-

Holland; and, as lord Middleton had a regular commerce with the Engliſh nobility in the adminiſtration of queen Anne, he had no difficulty in obtaining paſſports for his creatures, who went backward and forward to manage his intrigues in both the Britiſh kingdoms. On this account James Murray arrived in Scotland, ſix weeks before lord Lovat had been able to quit the coaſt of France. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

Lord Lovat indeed was obliged to ſeek through all the towns upon the coaſt, from Bruſſels to Calais, in order to paſs in ſafety: having no other proviſion for that purpoſe, than the orders of the marquis de Torcy to the commandants of theſe places to aſſiſt him with their power. Accordingly he was conſtrained to wait an entire month the arrival of an Engliſh packet for the exchange of priſoners, the captain of which was gained by dint of money, by the count de la Tour, governor of Calais, to take lord Lovat and his friends on board as Engliſh priſoners of war, and to put them on ſhore during the night in his boat, at ſome place in the neighbourhood of Dover, or at Dover.

The

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The captain performed his engagement very faithfully; and from Dover lord Lovat and Mr. John Murray set out for Scotland. During this journey they were exposed to various dangers; and particularly at the town of Northallerton were upon the point of being taken into custody, through the imprudence of a French valet de chambre.

A justice of the peace, who happened to be drinking in the kitchen of the post house where lord Lovat and Mr. Murray had taken up their lodgings in that town, understood by the conversation of this valet, who was drunk, that his master was just come from France, and that he was a partisan of king James the third. The justice was the very same man, who had arrested Mr. Law upon his arrival from France some years before, and was liberally rewarded for it by king William. Upon this intelligence he assembled with much speed all the constables in the town, and surrounded the apartment where lord Lovat and Mr. Murray were sitting.

Lord Lovat was informed of these proceedings by a gentleman of his clan, who was

was his ſervant. He propoſed to Mr. Murray, to put themſelves upon their defence, and to fight their way through every body that oppoſed them, or to die in the attempt, rather than ſuffer themſelves to be taken alive. Mr. Murray replied that he was not ready to die; that he was a naturaliſed Frenchman, and an envoy of the king of France; and that queen Anne dared not put him to death for fear of repriſals. Upon this lord Lovat deſired him to retire into the next room, as if he did not belong to his company: for himſelf, he was reſolved to die upon the ſpot, or to force his way through the enemy, ſince he expected no better, if he were taken, than to be hanged and quartered. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

He gave orders to his attendant, to lay hold of two piſtols that were upon the table, and a blunderbuſs that carried eight bullets. He took ſimilar arms himſelf. Underſtanding that the juſtice of peace was foremoſt on the ſtairs, he ordered his gentleman to poſt himſelf upon the landing place, and to permit the magiſtrate to enter the apartment, where lord Lovat ſtood with his piſtol cocked, ready to fire,

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fire. He bid his gentleman, the moment he heard the report, to diſcharge his blunderbuſs upon the conſtables upon the ſtairs, telling him, that, as ſoon as this was done, they would both force their way through all their opponents, who for the moſt part had no other arms, than the long ſtaves that are uſually carried by people of their profeſſion; that the night was very dark; and that, could they once gain the ſtreet, nothing would be eaſier than their eſcape.

But providence inſpired lord Lovat with a preſence of mind, which ſaved his own life and that of his company much more eaſily and infallibly, than their courage could have done. He told his gentleman, that he would inform the juſtice of the peace that he was brother to the duke of Argyle, who was colonel of the regiment of guards of queen Anne, and well known and much beloved in that country. And as lord Lovat had the honour to be really kinſman to the duke of Argyle, and his intimate friend; and had been many times with him at the races that were held in the neighbourhood of Northallerton, it did not ſeem very difficult

difficult to paſs himſelf for his brother. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

While lord Lovat was giving theſe orders, the juſtice of the peace drew up his conſtables in the yard, and at the foot of the ſtairs. He then came up to lord Lovat's apartment. The nobleman advanced a few ſteps to meet him, and without giving him time to ſpeak a word, ſaid to him, "My dear ſir, how happy I am to ſee you. "It is almoſt two years ſince I had that "pleaſure with the duke of Argyle, at "the races near this town." The juſtice was ſtruck with theſe words, and replied with a faltering voice, "My lord, I aſk "your lordſhip a thouſand pardons for hav-"ing broke thus abruptly into your apart-"ment. But my buſineſs was to beg your "lordſhip's permiſſion to treat you with a "bottle of wine in this town, where I am "a man of ſome conſequence." Lord Lovat replied that he ſhould accept and return his compliment with extreme pleaſure, and begged him to be ſeated.

The peace-officer anſwered that he would return in a moment, but that he would beg his

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his lordſhip's permiſſion to go and give orders in perſon to the hoſteſs, for the beſt Spaniſh wine ſhe had in the houſe. As ſoon however as he got to the bottom of the ſtairs, he told his army of conſtables with an authoritative tone, that the gentleman above ſtairs was brother to the duke of Argyle; that he was going to drink a bottle with him; and that for their parts, they had nothing to do but to get home as faſt as they could. Having diſbanded his forces, he returned again immediately, and lord Lovat made him ſo drunk, that he was obliged to be carried off without ſenſe or motion to his own houſe.

When he was gone, lord Lovat told Mr. Murray that it would be adviſeable to mount on horſeback immediately, and to quit the town, though it was then only one o'clock in the morning. They accordingly ſet out: and lord Lovat had more trouble, to hinder Mr. Murray from ſtabbing the French valet, who had occaſioned this adventure, than to outwit the penetration, and eſcape from the hands of the juſtice of peace.

Having

Having left this place, he arrived in Scotland with Mr. John Murray, who did not leave him for a moment day or night; without ſtopping in any other town in England, and exactly two months after the arrival of James Murray, the emiſſary of lord Middleton. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

Lord Lovat had been obliged, when at London, to ſend colonel Graham and major Fraſer before him into Scotland, with orders to wait for him upon the borders of that kingdom, neareſt to England. Here therefore he met them; and, as ſoon as they ſaw lord Lovat and Mr. John Murray, they informed them of the arrival of Mr. James Murray; adding, that he was acquainted with the particulars of the project, and had declared to the duke of Hamilton, to lord Athol, and the reſt of the lords of the privy council of queen Anne, that lord Lovat was gained by the court of France and the nuncio of the pope, to excite a civil war in Scotland, contrary to the poſitive orders of the king and queen; though the latter was ſo violent a Roman Catholic, that no Proteſtant could live in peace at St. Germains,

PART II. §. 1. 1703. mains, and even lord Middleton had been obliged to diſſemble for a time, and pretend to reconcile himſelf to the holy ſee, though ſtill in his heart a true Proteſtant, and having only taken this ſtep the more effectually to protect the cauſe of the reformation.

Mr. Livingſton, a French officer of diſtinction, then in Scotland for an affair of honour which had happened to him in France, having obtained his pardon, and returned to that court, declared to marſhal Villeroi, his patron, to the marquis de Torcy, and to the queen herſelf, that he had heard all this with his own ears, and a thouſand other injurious aſperſions, that were thrown out by Mr. James Murray againſt his queen.

In the mean time, the Scottiſh privy council iſſued their proclamation a month before lord Lovat arrived, to take him dead or alive, fixing a price upon his head, and prohibiting, under pain of death, all the ſubjects of queen Anne to hold any commerce with him, either by word or writing. This aſtoniſhed beyond meaſure

ſure Mr. John Murray, who gave himſelf up for loſt. But lord Lovat intreated him not to be diſheartened; adding, that he had nothing to fear; and that for himſelf he had been inured to ſuch menaces. 1703.

Immediately upon his arrival in Scotland, lord Lovat ſent intelligence to his brother, and a few of the gentlemen of his clan, who haſtened to join him. He then waited with Mr. John Murray upon the heads of the clans, and the principal loyal noblemen in Scotland. When lord Lovat produced his commiſſions, and his comprehenſive full powers ſigned by his king, and Mr. Murray had aſſured them, on the part of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, that he would ſend them every kind of ſuccour, they were perfectly raviſhed; and made a thouſand proteſtations of fidelity to their king and the intereſts of France, and of their reſolution to hazard their lives in the cauſe.

But, if they received this news with the extremeſt pleaſure, they were not leſs indignant at the baſe proceedings of lord Middleton, the effects of which lord Lovat had now too

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dearly experienced, to be able to doubt of them any longer. Nor were they leſs exaſperated with the unlicenſed inſolence of James Murray: ſo that the laird of the Stewarts of Appin, a gentleman well born and extremely loyal, together with ſome other lairds, was ready to ſet out for Edinburgh, in order to cut off his noſe and ears. But Mr. John Murray, who feared that this action might prove diſadvantageous to him, intreated lord Lovat to divert the laird of Appin, who was married to his couſin german, the daughter of the chief of the Macleods, from his purpoſe.

Lord Lovat complied with the requeſt; and at the ſame time employed himſelf daily to all her faithful ſubjects in making the eulogium of a queen, who has ſince become his inveterate enemy; telling them, that this princeſs inſtilled the beſt ſentiments into her ſon, and taught him to regard the Scottiſh nation as his moſt faithful ſubjects; for which reaſon they ought to treat with the fulleſt contempt the impoſtures and calumnies, with which that villain, James Murray, was continually blackening the character of his benefactreſs.

Lord

Lord Lovat and Mr. Murray having now held particular conferences with all the Scottiſh leaders moſt attached to their ſovereign, his lordſhip reſolved to invite them to a general council of war in the caſtle of Drummond. In this council he propoſed to them to take up arms immediately, with an entire confidence of being ſpeedily ſuccoured from the kingdom of France. Mr. Murray at the ſame time confirmed to them the expectations with which lord Lovat ſought to inſpire them on the part of the moſt Chriſtian king. The chiefs of the highland clans were unanimouſly of lord Lovat's opinion. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

But lord Drummond, whoſe loyalty to his ſovereign never incurred the ſhadow of an imputation, obſerved to them, that there was one conſideration, which was abſolutely deciſive againſt their taking arms at that time. It was, that the king had appointed no general; and that the Scottiſh nobles, equally perſuaded of their capacity and loyalty, would never brook ſubmiſſion to one of their own body, unleſs he were expreſsly nominated by a particular commiſſion.

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Lord Lovat replied, that, though he had as good a title as any man to pretend to the command, in the execution of a project of which he had been the first author, he would however cheerfully accept lord Drummond for his commander; that, if lord Drummond declined, and any of the principal nobility, whose loyalty was unquestionable, the earl of Breadalbane, the earl of Errol, earl Marishal, or the duke of Gordon, were willing to take the command of the army, he would readily obey them, and he was persuaded that the other heads of clans would follow his example.

Lord Drummond returned his grateful thanks to lord Lovat and the chiefs that declared themselves of his opinion, but added, that he would never accept the command, and he was persuaded the other lowland lords would be of the same mind; since such a step would infallibly excite the jealousy of his majesty's subjects, and prevent the lowland lords, not invited to the command, from joining the army. They must therefore expect a reinforcement, or at any rate a general from France, to whose command

mand the Scottiſh nobility might feel it no indignity to ſubmit. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

In this manner, in ſpite of all the efforts of lord Lovat, Mr. Murray, and the heads of the clans, to effect an immediate inſurrection in expectation of a reinforcement from France, and of ſeveral officers, whoſe miſſion into that country would then be infallible, it was unfortunately concluded in this fatal council, to defer for ſome months the deciſive ſtep. Meanwhile they reſolved, that it was expedient to ſend back Mr. John Murray, or lord Lovat, without delay into France, to demand ſuccours in general, and to counteract the pernicious effects, that might be produced in the mind of the queen by the falſhoods of James Murray, ſupported by the influence of lord Middleton.

The counteſs of Errol, ſiſter to lord Perth, the ſoul of the king's affairs in the lowlands, and a woman of a maſculine and ſuperior genius, was the only perſon in all that part of Scotland to ſupport the opinion of lord Lovat for immediate extremities. Indeed this lady obſerved

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fairly to Mr. John Murray, that ſhe did not find in any body, but that nobleman, the firm and reſolute ſpirit, which was indiſpenſibly neceſſary in the deſperate condition of the royal affairs.

Mr. Murray immediately and abſolutely refuſed to return into France upon the errand propoſed in the general council, and that for two reaſons. The firſt, that there ſtill remained a great number of lairds affectionate to the royal cauſe, whom he had not yet ſeen, and that the buſineſs of the commiſſion which had brought him into Britain, was therefore not yet fulfilled. His ſecond reaſon was, that he aſſured the council that lord Lovat had much more credit at the court of France than he had, as well as with the queen by the intervention of his friend, cardinal Gualterio, who had great influence over that princeſs.

Lord Lovat therefore, finding all the nobility of the lowlands averſe to the taking arms, and deſirous to gain theſe noblemen to riſe in concert with the highlanders, ſuffered himſelf to be carried away by their intreaties. In an evil hour he

he consented to return immediately into France, in spite of the tears of the gentlemen of his clan, who in despair tore their hair, when they saw him ready to abandon them a second time. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

Greatly were it to have been wished, that he had followed his own inclination and judgement, in taking up arms with the rest of the highland lairds, his near relations and friends, regardless of the timid counsels of the nobility of the flat country. He could have repelled his enemies without difficulty, till the arrival of a reinforcement from France. And in that case he would have become one of the first men in that part of Scotland; or at worst have made a brilliant and enviable fortune in France, in consequence of so important a service, and so distinguished a zeal for the cause of his sovereign, and the interests of the most Christian king. But providence had otherwise decided; and reserved for him in that country dungeons and prisons, rather than riches and honours.

Mr. Murray was obliged to return to Edinburgh, to concert matters with the

PART II. §. 1. 1703. earl of Errol, earl Mariſhal, the duke of Gordon, and other noblemen attached to the royal cauſe. It has already been ſeen that this gentleman, though extremely ſincere and poſſeſſed of much ability, was naturally mild and timid in his diſpoſition. He was therefore greatly apprehenſive, that he ſhould be put in priſon through the treachery of James Murray. He knew that the dukes of Argyle and Queenſberry and the earl of Leven, who may at this time be ſtyled the triumvirate of Scotland, had formerly ſupported lord Lovat againſt the tyranny of lord Athol, at a time when the latter was ſecretary of ſtate to king William, and ſeemed to have the whole power of the adminiſtration in his hands. He therefore applied to lord Drummond in an earneſt manner, to engage lord Lovat to wait upon theſe noblemen, his ancient friends, to amuſe them with a fictitious account of their journey, and to intreat them to give no trouble to Mr. Murray, who was come into Scotland purely to viſit his relations and friends.

Lord Lovat would have been happy at another time, to have waited upon the duke

duke of Argyle and lord Leven, his relations, his intimate acquaintance, and persons, to whom he was placed under the moſt eſſential obligations. But now, that he was unalterably fixed to engage in a war for the ſervice of his king and the intereſts of France, for which theſe noblemen had no partiality, it was difficult for him to perſuade himſelf to have an interview with them. But above all, the laſt man he would wiſh to have ſeen was the duke of Queenſberry, the inveterate and irreconcileable enemy of king James the third. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

Mr. Murray and lord Drummond were however urgent in their arguments with him to comply with the propoſal. They even ſuggeſted to him the idea of making his peace with queen Anne, remaining at home in his clan, and ſending major Fraſer, who had come with him from France, to demand the propoſed reinforcements. Overcome by their arguments, he at length conſented to ſee theſe lords; but at the ſame time obſerved to lord Drummond and Mr. Murray, that the half of Scotland ſhould not buy him to make his peace with queen Anne, and that no conſideration ſhould

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ſhould prevent him from paſſing immediately into France, to learn the preſent purpoſes and final reſolution of the two courts.

Lord Lovat accordingly waited upon the three noblemen, and he was particularly upon his guard with the duke of Queenſberry, in order to amuſe, and throw him upon a wrong ſcent. The duke himſelf gave lord Lovat an immediate opportunity of doing ſo without much exerciſe of his invention.

He told lord Lovat, that he was already acquainted with the whole of the buſineſs that had brought him into Britain; that the brother, or brother-in-law of James Murray, who was a member of the Scottiſh parliament, to which Queenſberry was high commiſſioner, introduced to him that emiſſary; and that he had diſcovered to him the whole plan of the Scottiſh inſurrection concerted between the courts of France and St. Germains. He further told lord Lovat, that he knew that he had ſeen, or was about to ſee all the highland chiefs, and the other friends of the king in the north; that he did not however aſk him any queſti-

ons upon that ſubject; but that he had one favour to demand of him, which lord Lovat muſt not refuſe: he ought to remember, that lord Athol and the duke of Hamilton were two perſons, who had for a long time endeavoured to deprive him of eſtate, reputation and life; he ought not to forget, that he himſelf had united with the duke of Argyle to defend him againſt their malice; he had therefore no reaſon to ſpare them. The duke accordingly hoped that lord Lovat would frankly inform him, whether the report were true, that lord Athol and the duke of Hamilton correſponded with the court of St. Germains, at the very time that they diſplayed an oſtentatious zeal in the ſervice of the preſent government. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

The duke of Queenſberry at this time breathed the moſt inveterate enmity againſt Hamilton and Athol, becauſe they oppoſed the projects of that nobleman in his parliament. He would therefore have given every thing he had in the world, to be put into a method of depriving theſe two lords of the power of counteracting and oppoſing his adminiſtration. Lord Lovat on his part was not leſs delighted, that the duke

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duke had choſen his field of battle ſo opportunely.

He accordingly replied, he would give his excellency every kind of ſatisfaction upon that head, on condition that he would grant him in return a ſmall favour for one of his friends. The duke returned, that he had nothing to do but to aſk, and that he might be confident of obtaining every thing that depended upon him. Lord Lovat then intreated him not to diſturb Mr. John Murray, who was not come into Scotland, as James Murray had falſely given out, to excite an inſurrection, but purely to ſee his brothers and kinſmen, and from whom his excellency might be aſſured he had nothing to fear. The duke without heſitation gave his word that Mr. John Murray ſhould meet with no trouble.

Lord Lovat, having thus obtained the favour he deſired, was now to pay the duke of Queenſberry for it in the manner he demanded. He had been informed by all the faithful partiſans of king James the third, and among others by Mr. John Murray, that the duke of Hamilton intended no

good

good to the royal party, but that on the contrary he was devoured with the abſurd idea of becoming himſelf king of Scotland. Mr. Murray had received this particular intelligence from his brother-in-law, Mr. Graham of Fintry, one of the braveſt and moſt honeſt men in Scotland, and who could not be ſurpaſſed in attachment to his ſovereign.

The laird of Fintry reported that the duke of Hamilton, with whom he was very intimate, had weakly diſcovered his ſecret to him, as to his beſt friend, in a private converſation they had held in the duke's cloſet. The duke had obſerved, that he had pretenſions of great antiquity by one of his anceſtors on the female ſide to the crown of Scotland, and that he was aſſured that the Scottiſh nation, and particularly the Preſbyterians, who were both the ſtrongeſt and the moſt numerous party, would never receive a Popiſh ſovereign; adding, that he had put himſelf at the head of the Jacobite party with no other deſign, than to embroil the two kingdoms, and to profit of their diſorder, by exalting himſelf to the crown. Mr. Graham of Fintry, who

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who was a zealous partiſan of king James, was ſo incenſed at this diſcovery, that he did not heſitate to ſay, "my lord duke, "your deſign is as unjuſtifiable as your "hopes are groundleſs. You have five "hundred brave gentlemen, who are now "your good friends, that would be the "firſt to poignard you, if they ſaw you "mad enough to declare yourſelf king of "Scotland."

Nor was this the only conſideration that influenced lord Lovat in his preſent conduct. He himſelf knew, by ocular demonſtration, that the duke of Hamilton had accepted the commiſſion of general of the Scottiſh army from the late king James; that he had promiſed an hundred ſeveral times to join himſelf to the highland forces with a body of cavalry; that he had regularly broken his word; and that he had never expended ſo much as a ſixpence, for a prince, who had laid him under accumulated obligations. Combining therefore what he had himſelf obſerved with the diſcovery of Mr. Murray, lord Lovat thought that he had no reaſon in the world to ſpare ſuch a man as the duke of Hamilton.

With

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With reſpect to lord Athol, he was notoriouſly the incorrigible enemy of king James. His accumulated treaſons rendered his perſon odious to all his majeſty's faithful ſervants. Much leſs therefore was lord Lovat bound to ſpare this incomparable villain, than the duke his brother-in-law. In a word, he was perſuaded that he could not do a better ſervice to his king, than to put the duke of Hamilton and lord Athol, the two greateſt hypocrites in Scotland, and of whoſe duplicity and ſelfiſh policy no man was ignorant, out of a condition to injure his project, or to prejudice the intereſts of their ſovereign.

Lord Lovat therefore made to the duke of Queenſberry this pretended diſcovery, which had no foundation in any thing he knew upon the ſubject, except in the groundleſs aſſertions of a few Jacobites, attached to the party of the duke of Hamilton and lord Athol. He aſſured his excellency that theſe two noblemen were the moſt faithful friends and ſervants of king James; that Mr. James Murray had brought them over commiſſions from the court of St. Germains; and that they had promiſed

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1703. promiſed to take up arms at a very early period, and to put themſelves at the head of the whole Jacobite party in order to reſtore the king; that his excellency might aſſure queen Anne that this was the real ſtate of the caſe.

The duke of Queenſberry was overjoyed at this chimerical diſcovery. He made a thouſand profeſſions of ſervice to Lord Lovat. He offered, to make his peace with queen Anne, to obtain for him a regiment and a conſiderable penſion, and to make him chief juſticiary and commandant of the county, which was the ſeat of the Lovat eſtates. Lord Lovat returned him his grateful thanks for theſe great offers. But he replied, that he could not at preſent accept of them; that he was obliged in honour and conſcience, to return into France for the ſervice of his king, and to carry on a project in which he was engaged.

He however promiſed his excellency, that, if he had then nothing to do for king James, he would in the following ſpring demand permiſſion to make his peace with queen Anne; adding that he ſhould then be happy

to

to accept the offers that his excellency had the kindneſs to make. In the mean time he promiſed, that, if the duke would favour him with a paſſport for his immediate return into France, he would communicate to him with the earlieſt opportunity a more particular account of the engagements of the duke of Hamilton and lord Athol with the court of St. Germains, in order that his excellency might have proofs, ſufficient to ruin theſe noblemen at the court of London. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

The duke of Queenſberry gave into the ſnare in the moſt unſuſpecting manner. He granted upon the ſpot a paſſport to lord Lovat, written and ſigned with his own hand, as viceroy of Scotland, to enable him to proceed in ſafety from Edinburgh to London. Lord Lovat has ſtill in his poſſeſſion this document, ſealed with the arms of the duke of Queenſberry; as well as the great offers that his excellency made him in writing.

When the duke had given him the paſſport, he mentioned that he ſhould take poſt in two days for court, adding, that lord Lovat had

PART II. §. 1. 1703. only to come *incognito* to his houſe in London, and that he would procure for him, from an Engliſh ſecretary of ſtate, a paſſport under borrowed names for his journey to Holland; that of the duke not being ſufficient for that purpoſe. Lord Lovat thanked his excellency, promiſed to pay his duty to him at London with the earlieſt opportunity, and took leave, wiſhing him a good journey.

Next day lord Drummond and Mr. Murray arrived at Edinburgh. Lord Lovat related to them *verbatim* all that paſſed between him and the duke of Queenſberry. They agreed in approving what he had done, and even applauded the dexterity with which he had delivered himſelf from an imminent and unforeſeen danger, by his romances of the duke of Hamilton and lord Athol, whom all the true friends of the king regarded as impoſtors, that for their private intereſts were deſirous of playing off both parties, without having a ſincere friendſhip for either.

Such were the very words of lord Drummond and Mr. Murray; and ſuch the firſt and

and ſole guilt of lord Lovat. Far from being a real crime, it ought to be regarded as a good and eſſential ſervice to his king, and the ſincere, political, and ingenious fruit of his zeal for his project and the intereſts of his ſovereign. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

With reſpect to his interviews with the duke of Argyle and lord Leven, to my knowledge he often took God to witneſs, that he had endeavoured, as if his life had depended on it, to gain over theſe lords, his relations and intimate friends, to the party of the king and the intereſts of France, repreſenting to them, that it was the only method they could take to ſave their families, France being, at that time, completely in a condition to reſtore king James in ſpite of his enemies.

The duke of Argyle was much affected by what he ſaid, reſpecting the power of France, and her firm reſolution to reſtore king James, as well as of the diſpoſitions of a ſtrong party in Scotland and in England to receive him.

His grace however replied; "My dear "friend! though I periſh in the party of the "revolution, I will never deſert it. I can-

PART H. §. 1. 1703.

" not truſt the pretended ſon of a king, who " cut off the head of my father in ſo unjuſt " and cruel a manner, after the ſervices he " had rendered to that very king, and his bro- " ther Charles the ſecond. In the mean time, " my dear Lovat, if by the fortune of war " the party for which you have declared " yourſelf prevail, do what you can for " me and my family; and I promiſe on " my part, if our government continue, as " I hope it will, effectually and at all times " to protect you and your houſe in ſpite " of all your enemies."

After mutual proteſtations of friendſhip, the duke of Argyle, without aſking a ſingle queſtion concerning an individual in the royal party, bid adieu to lord Lovat, embracing him tenderly, while on his part he was ſo much affected that he could not ſpeak. This was a kind of preſage of the melancholy news lord Lovat received a ſhort time after of the death of the duke of Argyle. He was touched to the bottom of his ſoul with this intelligence. The duke had always loved him as a father, and reſpected him as his faithful defender againſt the powerful and arbitrary houſes of Hamilton

Hamilton and Athol. He was however well pleaſed with the unbounded expectations, that the whole kingdom entertained from the valour and genius of the young duke of Argyle, who has ſince ſurpaſſed the moſt ſanguine ideas that his early youth inſpired, and is acknowledged through all Europe, as well as in theſe three kingdoms, as the greateſt hero and ornament of the Scottiſh nation. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

With regard to the commerce of lord Lovat with the earl of Leven, who is ſtill living, the earl will not pretend to deny, that lord Lovat, from a leader in the revolution intereſt, made him a compleat convert to the royal party, and that he gave him an ample commiſſion to make his peace with the court of St. Germains, promiſing, if the king would grant him the ſame appointments he poſſeſſed under queen Anne, to declare for the royal party, and conſtantly adhere to it.

It is certain indeed, that, if the inſurrection in Scotland had been executed, and lord Leven had been aſſured of the terms he had demanded of the court of St. Germains, he would infallibly have delivered up to

PART II. §. 1. 1703.

the royal party the caſtle of Edinburgh, of which he was then governor. His commerce with the court of St. Germains for ſeveral years paſt is ſufficiently notorious, and abundantly proves the diſpoſition which lord Lovat had created, and left him in for the intereſts of that court.

It proves however, at the ſame time, this earl of Leven to be the moſt ungrateful and unnatural of mankind, the greateſt liar and impoſtor on the face of the earth, when, knowing the diſgrace into which lord Lovat had fallen at the court of St. Germains, and that he could not better make his court to the queen and her miniſters than by blackening the reputation of his kinſman, he ſent thither pretended letters, in which he was repreſented as betraying to him, from time to time, all the meaſures of that court.

The reader has here before him all the high treaſons, and criminal and perfidious informations, ſo loudly expatiated on, and painted in ſuch lively colours by lord Middleton, of which lord Lovat was guilty in this expedition. In the mean time lord Drum-

Drummond and Mr. John Murray regarded these very transactions as the best services he could have rendered his king; in discovering a method, of saving Mr. Murray and himself without the smallest prejudice to the interests of his party, and at the same time of shaking the fidelity, and almost persuading the enemies of the king to desert their party. God knows what rewards these services have procured him! 1703.

But, if lord Lovat had indeed been such a character as lord Middleton represented him, he needed only to have accepted the offers of the duke of Queensberry. In that case, without having been guilty of treason to his party, he would have been put into complete possession of his province and estates. And, if he had wished to incur the treachery and villainy which his enemies have falsely imputed to him, had he not the heads of all the king's friends in his pocket, and were not the documents in his possession sufficient to have brought to the scaffold every loyal nobleman in the kingdom? But God gave him religion, and honour, and courage enough, rather to have suffered himself to have been torn in pie-

PART II. §. 1. 1703. ces by four horſes, than ever to have betrayed or taken away the life of the pooreſt lacquey or artiſan, whom he knew to be faithful to that prince, for whom he ſo generouſly ſacrificed his deareſt and moſt unqueſtionable intereſts.

The duke of Queenſberry mean while ſet out for London, and lord Lovat, not chuſing to take any ſtep but in concert with lord Drummond and Mr. John Murray, envoy for the king of France, conſulted them reſpecting the method of his return. They both intreated him for his greater ſafety to proceed to London, and accept the paſſport the commiſſioner had offered. Lord Lovat conſented; and, having nobody at London in whom he could confide, he begged lord Drummond and Mr. Murray to addreſs him to ſome faithful ſubject, who might be his counſel and the witneſs of his actions, in order to his exculpation, in caſe any unforeſeen accident ſhould abridge him of his liberty, or ruin his project.

Mr. John Murray addreſſed him to his nephew Mr. William Keith, the ſon of ſir

William Keith, as a proper perſon to aſſiſt and attend him during his reſidence in the metropolis. He was a gentleman, full of honour and good ſenſe, a zealous partiſan of the king, and for that reaſon the declared enemy of the duke of Queenſberry. Mr. Murray, who was brother to lady Keith his mother, wrote to Mr. Keith, to render every ſervice to lord Lovat, to communicate to him without reſerve whatever he knew reſpecting the king's affairs, and, if it were neceſſary, to expoſe his life to inſure him a ſafe paſſage out of England. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

Lord Lovat ſet out for London with this recommendation, and he took with him Mr. Campbel, the ſon of the laird of Glendaruel of the family of Breadalbane, his couſin german, and half brother to ſir John Maclean. Mr. Campbel appeared extremely zealous for the royal cauſe, and was the perſon that conducted lord Lovat to the houſe of lord Breadalbane. This nobleman was the ſoundeſt head, as well as the moſt loyal ſubject in the kingdom. He had more experience than all the Scottiſh noblemen

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blemen of the royal party; and more courage, though upwards of ſixty years of age, to expoſe himſelf ſword in hand at the head of his vaſſals for the ſervice of his king, than any young fellow in Scotland. Add to this, that his power was very extenſive in the mountains of Perthſhire.

Campbel of Glendaruel being of this family, and at the ſame time couſin german to lord Lovat on the mother's ſide, had been the confident between theſe two noblemen in the buſineſs that had brought the latter into Scotland. For theſe reaſons lord Lovat truſted him as his own brother. And neither he nor Mr. Keith, who received lord Lovat with open arms and in the moſt affectionate manner, quitted him day or night during the ſhort period he continued in London.

Mr. Keith approved extremely of what lord Lovat had done to amuſe the duke of Queenſberry, and the trick he had played the duke of Hamilton and lord Athol. "Though," ſaid he, obſerving upon this point, "I am in "appearance the friend of the duke of Ha-

"milton

" milton and lord Athol, there is not in " reality a perſon in the kingdom that hates " them more than I do. In the firſt place " nobody is better acquainted with the " abſurd and ambitious views of the duke " of Hamilton upon the crown. And for " lord Athol, all the friends of the king " know but too well, that he only appears " of our party, from an avaricious and " immeaſurable thirſt of the places and " penſions, which he expects from the pre- " ſent government, to induce him to betray, " as he has repeatedly done, the intereſts of " the king, and enable him to ſupport his " numerous and neceſſitous family, who " have no other property than the empty " title of my lord."

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Mr. Keith, in order the better to inform lord Lovat of the ſituation of the king's affairs in England, introduced him to old Ferguſon, ſo well known for the author or accomplice of ſo many conſpiracies, plots and criminal intrigues. He had been in many plots againſt king Charles. He had conſpired againſt the life of the late king James; but he afterwards became his zea-

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lous ſervant and public partiſan. And as he had a very ſharp and ſatirical pen, the royal party employed him in writing libels upon king William, and invectives againſt his government and friends.

Mr. Ferguſon received lord Lovat with open arms; and, having been previouſly informed by Mr. Keith of the credit this nobleman poſſeſſed at the courts of France and St. Germains, he made to him a magnificent detail of all he had done for the king, and how much he had advanced his intereſt in the Engliſh parliament. Two days after he gave to lord Lovat commiſſions on his own part, and on the part of ſeveral illuſtrious perſonages in the Engliſh parliament, addreſſed to the queen and lord Middleton.

He alſo gave him a letter of recommendation to his brother major general Ferguſon, who had entered into the ſervice of king William, and at that time commanded the Scottiſh regiments in garriſon at Boiſleduc, intreating him to render the ſame ſervices to lord Lovat as he would to himſelf

ſelf in his ſituation. This letter was the means of ſaving lord Lovat's life about a fortnight after. He now took leave of Mr. Ferguſon with mutual proteſtations of friendſhip and eſteem, the latter moſt humbly intreating him to repreſent to the court of St. Germains what he had done, and what he was reſolved to do for her ſervice. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

Lord Lovat waited with impatience for the paſſport which the duke of Queenſberry had promiſed him. His friend Mr. Keith conjured him to preſs the duke to forward that buſineſs with all ſpeed, ſince his life would probably be the forfeit of his being taken into cuſtody. Mr. Keith even went with lord Lovat to the duke of Queenſberry's gate, and remained in the carriage, not daring to be ſeen, while lord Lovat and his couſin were with the duke. As ſoon as he had obtained his paſſport, he thought of nothing but his journey; and the faithful Keith did not leave him till he ſaw him fall down the Thames.

This young gentleman remarked to lord Lovat with tears in his eyes, at the moment of

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of their ſeparation, that it was neceſſary to employ a degree of policy in the affairs of Scotland; that it would be a melancholy conſideration for the intereſts and the friends of the king, to ſee ſo noble a project miſcarry; but that for his part, he was greatly apprehenſive of the ſubtle and dangerous character of lord Middleton; he was perſuaded he would do his utmoſt to ruin a project, which had the family of Perth, its relations and allies at its head. He added, that lord Lovat had need alike of diſcretion and perſeverance, to counterwork all that lord Middleton might advance againſt the inſurrection; and that, if at any time the vivacity of his temper led him to embroil himſelf with the miniſter, he and his project muſt be ruined together. The event was literally as Mr. Keith had predicted.

As lord Lovat was in continual apprehenhenſion of being taken in England and in Holland, he did not wiſh to carry about him the portrait of his ſovereign, which his majeſty had recently beſtowed upon him with extraordinary marks of his bounty. He

He therefore cauſed a very neat box to be made, with an inſcription, that it contained the portrait of his king, which his majeſty had given him, in return for the ſervices he had performed for his majeſty and for the king his father during their exile. He incloſed in the ſame box the commiſſion which his majeſty had beſtowed upon him, as colonel of a regiment of infantry. This box he placed as a ſacred depoſit, in the hands of his couſin german Campbel of Glendaruel, conjuring him to carry it together with its contents, as a thing dearer to him than his life, to his clan. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

Lord Lovat had by extreme good fortune left in Scotland, with one of the braveſt gentlemen of his clan, the box, in which he had adroitly concealed THE GRAND APPOINTMENT, OR UNLIMITED FULL POWERS, which the king had given him to repreſent his ſacred perſon, and to renew in his name, in caſe the occaſion ſhould make it proper to take up arms, all the commiſſions which the late king James had granted in Scotland. This appointment, not leſs honourable than rare, is ſtill faithfully pre-

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preſerved by the gentleman to whom it was originally confided.

During the whole time of lord Lovat's reſidence in London, he had lodged at the houſe of a very zealous partiſan of king James the third. He had not the ſmalleſt intercourſe with any individual in England that was not noted for attachment to the royal cauſe, except the ſingle quarter of an hour, that he ſpent at the duke of Queenſberry's by the advice of his moſt reſpectable friends, in order to obtain his paſſport.

In his paſſage to Holland he was in much danger of his life, there being on board the Dutch veſſel in which he was embarked, two creatures of his enemies, major Duncan Mackenzie, and Scatual Mackenzie, his eldeſt ſon. Lord Lovat had no other means of ſafety in this ſituation, till they got out to ſea, but that of concealing himſelf in the hammoc of a common ſailor.

A few days after his arrival in Holland, he received a letter from Campbel of Glendaruel,

daruel, informing him that sir John Maclean, half brother to Glendaruel, and cousin german to lord Lovat, was arrived in England with his lady, and had surrendered himself prisoner; that lord Lovat had not left London six hours, before a posse of constables came to apprehend him; that they had treated his landlord very roughly, and thrown him into a dungeon in Newgate; and that, if he had staid a day longer in England, his destruction would have been infallible. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

Upon the receipt of this letter lord Lovat wrote to Glendaruel, to Mr. William Keith, and to Mr. Ferguson, the famous partisan of king James, and enemy to the duke of Queensberry. He felicitated himself upon having escaped from the hands of the English government, and so ingeniously amused the duke of Queensberry. At the same time he observed, how much he was afflicted at the adversity to which his landlord was exposed for his fidelity to his king and to himself.

He inclosed a letter to his brother, sir John Maclean, in which lord Lovat ex-

PART II. §. 1. 703.] horted him, in the name of God, to ſuffer death itſelf, rather than to act hoſtile to the intereſts of his ſovereign. He obſerved that a ſingle falſe ſtep in his ſituation would deſtroy the merit of all he had hitherto done, and obliterate the ſervice of anceſtors, the moſt celebrated for their loyalty; adding, that he had rather hear that he was torn to pieces by horſes, than that he had bartered away his loyalty and his honour. Lord Lovat wrote in this urgent manner to ſir John Maclean, becauſe he feared that lady Maclean, his wife, who was a woman of much policy and fineſſe, might prevail upon him to make ſhipwreck of his honour for the ſake of his eſtate. At the ſame time he expreſſed his ſentiments of this lady in a very open manner to Glendaruel her brother-in-law.

What lord Lovat predicted reſpecting her and her huſband, happened in a very ſhort time. Sir John Maclean, to his ſhame and eternal confuſion, as the moſt contemptible of cowards, after a few days impriſonment, and having firſt conditioned for a penſion from queen Anne, made an ample diſco-

discovery of every thing he knew respecting his cousin lord Lovat, the Scottish insurrection, and all the projects of the court of St. Germains. He was accordingly, as all the world knows, immediately set at liberty and pensioned, and has ever since been universally regarded as the most worthless of the human race.

Lord Lovat's dispatches from Holland, were either intercepted or treacherously delivered into the hands of the government, and printed by the express order of the English parliament. They ought alone to convince the whole world of his zeal, his faithful and unalterable attachment to the interests of his king, and those of France, from which the former were inseparable. It was not however till after lord Lovat's arrival in France, that he knew himself to have been betrayed by his cousin german, Campbel of Glendaruel. This unnatural monster, this perfidious traitor, this execrable villain conceived and carried into action the barbarous design, in spite of their relationship and intimate friendship, in spite of the unbounded confidence lord Lovat

PART II. §. 1. 1703. had placed in him, of accompliſhing the entire ruin of that nobleman in the courts both of England and France.

The infamous idea of Glendaruel found harbour in his avaricious ſoul, firſt, in order that he might turn to his own uſe eight fine horſes that lord Lovat had left in his care, together with four military trunks filled with various articles of dreſs, gold and ſilver plate, and with a variety of jewels, to the value of 300l, which this villain took poſſeſſion of upon his return to London.

The other part of the monſter's idea was as black as the former. Glendaruel was lieutenant of the company of volunteers of Mr. Campbel of Finac, his relation and a gentleman who had ſhown himſelf his ſincere friend.

It may be proper in this place to mention, that Mr. Campbel of Finac is one of the moſt gallant and worthy men in Scotland. His integrity and honour are known and revered by all his acquaintance. His courage, intrepidity and military ſkill, were greatly

greatly conſpicuous in the affair of Darien, where with an handful of brave Scots he beat an army of Spaniards, diſarmed with his own hand the enemy's general, and brought away his ſabre, as a token of his victory, upon his return into Scotland. His victory however was rendered uſeleſs, by the combination of the Engliſh with their inveterate enemies for the ruin of the Scottiſh colony eſtabliſhed at Darien. PAR II. §. 1 1703

Mr. Campbel of Finac, was upon bad terms with lord Athol. I have already had occaſion to relate, that, upon ſome deſpotic proceedings of lord Athol, while earl of Tullibardin, this gentleman ſent his lordſhip a challenge. Lord Athol however ſaw no merit in expoſing his life againſt a valour ſo well known as that of Finac. He therefore ſhamefully declined the invitation, and was forced with infamy to aſk pardon and forgiveneſs of his antagoniſt, who threatened to beſtow upon him the appropriated reward of cowards and poltroons, by publicly caning him at the high croſs of Edinburgh, where this affair made a great deal of noiſe.

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I quit this hero in order to return to the treacherous Glendaruel. The villain was ſufficiently informed, that lord Athol and lord viſcount Tarbat were the intimate friends and favourites of queen Anne, and for their private intereſts the declared enemies of lord Lovat. He did not doubt, that, in betraying and delivering into their hands this nobleman, his couſin german, he ſhould obtain for the price of his villainy the company of volunteers of the brave Campbel of Finac, who was alſo his couſin and his captain, which was worth at leaſt 170l. a year. He was ſatisfied, that lord Athol would be charmed to meet with a decent opportunity of diſgracing Finac, who had affronted him in ſo public and unqualified a manner.

Thus was Glendaruel blinded by an infamous ſpirit of avarice and ambition. He forgot, that a few weeks before, he had been the zealous partiſan of king James, had conducted lord Lovat to the houſes of lord Breadalbane and many other loyal chiefs, and that his diſcovery would put their lives in imminent danger, as well as ſubject his own to the mercy of the Eng-

liſh government. He forgot every thing that ought to be dear to a man of reaſon, honour and probity, and ruſhed headlong into the preſence of lords Athol and Tarbat, the very day that he took leave of lord Lovat upon the departure of that nobleman for Holland. PART II. §. 1. 1703.

He diſcovered to theſe noblemen every thing that he knew reſpecting the affairs of the king, and of his couſin lord Lovat, who at that time conducted them. He delivered up to them the box that lord Lovat had confided to him, containing the portrait of the king, and his commiſſion of colonel of infantry. Finally, he diſcloſed to them the commerce which lord Lovat had carried on with the duke of Queenſberry, and the paſſport that his excellency had procured him for his journey to Holland.

Lord Athol and lord Tarbat were particularly gratified with the laſt part of his diſcovery, by means of which they hoped immediately to accompliſh the ruin of the duke of Queenſberry. They went without

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a moment's pauſe to queen Anne, and accuſed the duke to her majeſty, as guilty of high treaſon, having maintained a commerce with the moſt dangerous emiſſary that had ever been employed by the courts of France and St. Germains. To ſubſtantiate their accuſations they produced the villain Glendaruel, who declared, that he had himſelf been witneſs to a conference of lord Lovat with the duke of Queenſberry, once at Edinburgh, and once in London, and that he was ready to make oath, that the duke had given him a paſſport for his journey into Holland. At the ſame time, by concert with theſe noblemen, he delivered to queen Anne with his own hand the portrait of the king, and the commiſſion of lord Lovat, which had been confided to him as the moſt ſacred depoſit: a circumſtance, which ought to render the name of this modern Judas odious to the lateſt poſterity.

Lords Athol and Tarbat warmly preſſed the queen, to permit the duke of Queenſberry to be tried for his life upon theſe accuſations. And indeed he muſt probably have

loſt his head in the affair, if he had not previouſly advertiſed the queen, that the ſlight intercourſe between him and lord Lovat, had been ſolely intended to diſcover and eſtabliſh the intrigues of the duke of Hamilton and lord Athol at the court of St. Germains. And in this he averred the preciſe and literal truth, PART II. §. 1. 1703.

But the duke of Queenſberry had nothing to ſupport his aſſertion, but the preſumptions with which lord Lovat had furniſhed him againſt the duke of Hamilton and lord Athol; while on the other hand lords Athol and Tarbat had legal evidence of the commerce of the duke of Queenſberry with lord Lovat, the emiſſary of the courts of France and St. Germains. The duke was therefore obliged to defend himſelf againſt this accuſation by ſuing for a pardon from the queen. And he was ſo much irritated againſt lord Lovat, whom he conceived to have duped and betrayed him to meſſieurs Keith and Ferguſon, his declared enemies, that he became from that moment his inveterate foe. At the ſame time he treated in an inhuman manner Mr. William Keith, becauſe

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becauſe he was informed that he had been every day with that nobleman during his reſidence in London.

The duke however was extremely in the wrong with reſpect to lord Lovat. Lord Lovat had diſcovered nothing to him of the affairs of the king and of France, nor did his grace aſk him a ſingle queſtion but in relation to the duke of Hamilton and lord Athol, whom his informant, and all the king's true friends, hated as much as he did. Far at the ſame time from wiſhing to betray the duke of Queenſberry, and to repay with ingratitude the good offices he had received from him, he was conſtantly ready to do his excellency every ſervice, which conſiſted with his honour, his loyalty, and his conſcience. Willingly would he have furniſhed the duke, had it been in his power, with the means of ruining the duke of Hamilton and lord Athol at the court of queen Anne, perſuaded that he could not render a more eſſential ſervice to his king, than by deſtroying the credit and influence of theſe noblemen, who equally betrayed both parties, and were the objects of public

lic deteſtation to the zealous partiſans of either. PART II. §. 1.

Such is the ſimple and ſincere detail, excluſive of the ſecrets of the king and of France, which it would at all times be improper to publiſh: ſuch, I ſay, is the exact detail of all lord Lovat's tranſactions in Scotland. And this ought for ever to confound the author of a book, entitled, Memoirs concerning the Affairs of Scotland, from Queen Anne's Acceſſion to the Throne to the Commencement of the Union *; printed at London in the year 1714.

I know not what epithet to beſtow upon this miſerable author, who is ſo full of contradictions, even in the characters he draws with ſo much bitterneſs and impudence of the moſt able and illuſtrious gentlemen, and the firſt nobility of Scotland. The mildeſt cenſure that can be paſſed upon him, is that he has been inſolent, ignorant and witleſs.

Indeed he confeſſes as much himſelf: he aſked pardon beforehand. It were there-

* By George Lockhart of Carnwath.

fore

PART II. §. 1.

fore pity to treat his book with too much ſeverity, ſince he has ſuppreſſed his name, for fear of being cudgelled to death by the footmen of the many noblemen he has maltreated, and who are unwilling themſelves to ſoil their hands with ſhooting him through the head, as a gentleman did the father of this author, if he be the perſon whom all the world believes him to be. Indeed the father was worth a million of ſuch ſons as this, who have the folly to ſet up for an author, before they have acquired the means of ſubſiſtence, and without poſſeſſing the ſmalleſt particle of knowledge, reſpecting either the tranſactions of the world in general, or their own country in particular.

But it is not my buſineſs to refute his whole book. Abler men than I are equally involved in his calumnies. Since too the author appears to be animated with an inextinguiſhable zeal for the honour and proſperity of Scotland, his country and mine, he would have deſerved ſome indulgence, if his blind ſpirit of party had not led him to the diſſemination of ſo many abſurdities and falſhoods reſpecting perſons

perſons of the higheſt quality, and to the groundleſs flattery and prepoſterous applauſe of thoſe, whom he imagined to be of his own opinion. My only deſign is to eſtabliſh the honour and integrity of lord Lovat, whom this writer has the inſolence to attack. I will therefore confine myſelf to the clear and unanſwerable refutation of thoſe articles of his book, which in ſo pitileſs a manner tear to pieces the character of this nobleman, under the name of Simon Fraſer of Beaufort. The following is the paſſage to which I allude. PART II. §. 1.

" About this time a flying report was " ſpread about, as if a plot had been diſ- " covered, wherein a certain number of the " chiefs and heads of the cavaliers had en- " gaged to riſe in arms againſt queen Anne, " in favour of the pretended prince of " Wales, (as they termed the king) and " this ſtory was propagated to blacken thoſe " peoples endeavours to liberate their coun- " try from the ſlavery and dominion which " England uſurped over it.

" But becauſe this ſham plot was the " foundation of a mighty ſuperſtructure, " made

PART II. §. 1.

" made a great noiſe, and was the handle the " courtiers laid hold on to ruin the cavalier " and country parties, I muſt go back a " little, and trace it from its original, that " the deſign and concluſion of it may be the " better underſtood, and the whole looked " upon with that deteſtation and horror by " future ages, which all good men had of " it at the time.

" You muſt know then, that after the " duke of Queenſberry had broke his vows " to the cavaliers, and ſeen them, when " joined to the country, ſo ſtrong and zeal- " ous a party, there was no hopes of being " able to ſtand it out againſt ſo violent and " united a torrent; he bethought himſelf to " undermine their reputations, and ſo di- " miniſh their intereſt with the court, " and find a pretence to vent his wrath, " and execute his malice againſt thoſe that " thwarted his arbitrary deſigns. And know- " ing, to his certain experience, that the " poet was very much in the right, when " he aſſerted, that,

" Plots, true or falſe, are neceſſary things
" To ſet up commonwealths, and ruin kings,

" he,

" he, with the ſpecial advice and conſent " of his dear friends, the duke of Argyle, " the earls of Stair and Leven, and Mr. Car- " ſtares (a rebellious preſbyterian preach- " er, and one of her majeſty's chaplains) " reſolved, one way or other, to frame ſuch " a plot, as, when lodged upon thoſe they " deſigned it againſt, ſhould, in all hu- " man probability, be their utter ruin and " deſtruction.

" They pitched upon one Simon Fraſer, " of Beaufort, as the tool to carry on this " wicked deſign, and be an evidence to " charge ſuch perſons, as they directed. " This gentleman, ſome three or four years " before, had been guilty of a moſt ſcanda- " lous rape upon the perſon of the lady " dowager Lovat, ſiſter to the duke of Athol, " for which crime the lords of juſticiary " condemned him to die: and letters of " fire and ſword were raiſed, and a detach- " ment of king William's troops ſent againſt " him and his adherents, who were pretty " numerous, betwixt whom ſeveral ſkir- " miſhes happened. But finding the duke " of Argyle, who was his great patron, " (for no other reaſon, that I know of, but

" becauſe

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" becauſe he had been guilty of a vile, " lewd and deteſtable crime; and likewiſe " upon the perſon of one of the family of " Athol, which two houſes bore each other " a conſtant grudge:) I ſay, Fraſer, finding " Argyle was no longer able to protect him " againſt the force of law and juſtice, quit- " ted the kingdom, and retired into France. " But king James having got an account of " the crimes he was found guilty of, for " which he had left his native country, " would not, during his life, allow him to " come to the court of St. Germains.

" This perſon being made choice of, as " well qualified for ſuch a deſign, was ſent " for from France to England, and after- " wards brought from thence to Scotland. " But before he left France, by the advice " of his friends at home, he turned papiſt; " and finding a way to be introduced to the " French king by the pope's nuncio, he re- " preſented himſelf as a perſon of great in- " tereſt in Scotland, and oppreſſed for his zeal " to the royal family, and that with encou- " ragement, and a ſmall aſſiſtance, he could " contribute to make a great diverſion to " the Engliſh arms, and much promote " the

" the royal intereſt, and for that end pro- PART II. §. 1.
" poſed; that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty
" ſhould furniſh him with two or three
" hundred men, and a good ſum of money
" to take along with him to Scotland, where
" he would perform wonders. But the
" French king, unwilling to hazard his men
" and money, without a farther ſecurity,
" and more probability than his aſſertions,
" gave him a fair anſwer, deſiring him to
" go firſt to Scotland, and bring him ſome
" credentials from thoſe perſons, over whom
" he pretended ſo much power; which he
" agreed to; and got, for that purpoſe, a
" little money, and, by the French inter-
" eſt, ſuch credit at St. Germains, as to
" obtain a commiſſion from king James to
" be a major-general, with a power to raiſe
" and command forces in his behalf, which
" was the main thing he aimed at. But at
" the ſame time, captain John Murray, bro-
" ther to Mr. Murray of Abercairny, and
" captain James Murray, brother to ſir Da-
" vid Murray of Stanhope, were likewiſe,
" under the protection of queen Anne's
" act of indemnity, ſent over to Scotland
" to be a check upon him, and bring intel-
" ligence, how they found the tempers of

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" the people, and their inclination towards " king James.

" Thus provided, Fraſer arrived in Eng- " land; and on the borders of Scotland was " met by the duke of Argyle, and by him " conducted to Edinburgh, where he was " kept private; and being fully inſtructed " what he was to do, the duke of Queenſ- " berry gave him a paſs to ſecure him from " being apprehended, in obedience to the " the letters of fire and ſword emitted againſt " him. And now he goes to the highlands, " introduces himſelf into the company of all " that he knew were well affected to king " James and his intereſt, there produces his " major-general's commiſſion, as a teſtifi- " cate of the truſt repoſed in him, and pro- " poſing their riſing in arms, and ſignifying " the ſame under their hands, *That the* " *king might know aſſuredly, who they* " *were, and what numbers he had to truſt to,* " *and regulate his affairs accordingly*; ſome " were ſo far ſeduced, as to aſſure him, " they were ready to ſerve the king, (though " I believe there was none that did it " in the terms he demanded;) but general- " ly there were few, that did not regret the " king's

" king's repoſing any truſt in a perſon of ſo PART II. §. 1.
" bad a character, and, fearing he would
" betray them, refuſed to treat or come to
" particulars with him.

" After he had trafficked here and there
" through the highlands with ſmall ſuc-
" ceſs, when the parliament was adjourned,
" he went to London, to conſider of what
" further uſe he might be to his conſti-
" tuents, reſolving (though the *primum*
" *mobile*, and his patron, the duke of Ar-
" gyle, was now dead) to continue in their
" ſervice. And they, finding he had made but
" a ſmall progreſs, and could not as yet fix
" any thing at the doors of thoſe perſons
" againſt whom they levelled, reſolved to
" ſend him again to France, to demand let-
" ters, and further encouragement, to the
" dukes of Hamilton and Athol, the earls
" of Seafield and Cromarty, and the cava-
" liers: and for that end, the duke of
" Queenſberry procured him, and two others
" with him, a paſs from the earl of Not-
" tingham, ſecretary of England, under
" borrowed names. If he went upon a
" good deſign, as the duke of Queenſberry
" afterwards alledged, why needed he have

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" made their perſons and buſineſs ſuch a " ſecret to the queen's ſecretary, as that he " muſt know neither?

" But before Fraſer reached Paris, and " had executed his black deſign, it came to " light in great meaſure; for the famous " Mr. Ferguſon ſoon diſcovered, and con- " ſequently defeated the project, when it " was as yet but in embrio; for Fraſer, " whilſt he was in London, having ad- " dreſſed himſelf to him, and one Mr. " William Keith, (a great depender on the " duke of Athol) he acquainted them with " his pretended deſign and project for king " James, and mightily preſſed Keith, that " he would uſe his endeavours to perſuade " the duke of Athol to forgive him, and al- " low him acceſs to his grace, ſince he was " heartily ſorry for the crime he had com- " mitted, and was promoting ſo good a de- " ſign: but Keith (though he played the " fool, and dipt deep enough with him in " all other points) told him, that was what " he could not preſume to propoſe, and " what he knew the duke of Athol would " never grant.

" But

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" But Ferguſon, an old experienced plot-
" ter, underſtanding his character, ſuſ-
" pected his integrity; and, it coming to
" his knowledge, that he was often pri-
" vately with the Scottiſh courtiers, was by
" them ſupported, and had obtained a paſs,
" as above related, he ſoon concluded, that
" there was ſome baſe deſign in hand, and
" thereupon gave the duke of Athol notice
" of it; and he again, having enquired at
" the earl of Nottingham's, and finding
" Ferguſon's information to hold good, and
" his ſuſpicions to be well grounded, ac-
" quaints queen Anne of the whole pro-
" cedure, accuſing the duke of Queenſ-
" berry in particular, and his other friends
" and partiſans, of correſponding with, and
" protecting a perſon, outlawed in the king-
" dom of Scotland, guilty of the moſt hor-
" rid crimes, and a trafficker with France.

" Whereupon the duke of Queenſberry,
" to vindicate himſelf, declared, that Fra-
" ſer, when he came to Scotland, wrote to
" him, that he could make great diſcove-
" ries for the queen's ſervice; and that
" upon that account he had ſent for him,
" given him a protection in Scotland, and

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" again procured him a paſs in England,
" with a deſign he ſhould go to France,
" and make a clearer diſcovery, which he
" did not doubt he would have performed,
" had not the matter come too ſoon to
" light; and, as a convincing proof thereof,
" he produces a letter from the queen-mo-
" ther, directed to L. M. which he inter-
" preted, the lord Murray; (formerly the
" title of the duke of Athol, before his
" father died.) But his grace made uſe of
" ſuch ſolid arguments, and convincing
" proofs to ſhew the fallacy of that letter,
[that is, that L. M. might as well ſtand
for fifty other noblemen as himſelf,] that
" queen Anne herſelf could not deny, but
" that ſhe thought it not genuine.

" Now let any impartial judge conſider,
" if it is probable that Fraſer, with whom
" no honeſt man in Scotland would con-
" verſe, who was under ſentence of death,
" and not ſuch a tool as to imagine, that
" he had an intereſt to do any thing of mo-
" ment for king James's ſervice, could have
" had the impudence to addreſs the French
" king in ſuch terms as he did, and come
" over to Scotland, unleſs he had been put
" upon

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" upon it, and protected by such as could " support him at home? If he proposed to " cheat the French king of a little money, " why came he to Scotland with it; since " he knew he could not fail, in time, to be " discovered, and then could neither hope " to be protected there, or to dare to return " to France? These, I say, and many other " such shrewd presumptions, make it clear, " what was the design of this pretended " plot, and, if successful, how dismal the " consequences of it would have proved, " (*viz.* The destruction of those who op- " posed the designs of the Scottish cour- " tiers and English ministry against Scot- " land;) how happy it was in being ren- " dered abortive, before the designed con- " ception had come to full maturity; and " how odious the thoughts of such a hel- " lish conspiracy, and the abettors thereof, " ought to be in the eyes of all good " men!" *

It is somewhat extraordinary, that, contrary to all honour, justice and common sense, this author has had the impudence to let loose his spleen upon lord Lovat, whom

* Memoirs of Scotland, p. 74—84.

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he did not know, and who is by his birth ſo extremely his ſuperior; being the twenty-ſecond lord Lovat from father to ſon, allied to the royal family and to the firſt houſes in Scotland; not to mention his perſonal merit, which has ſhone forth in France, as well as at home, in ſpite of the malice of his enemies. It is ſtill more extraordinary, that this author, who pretends to advance nothing but unqueſtionable facts, and to write entirely from his own knowledge, ſhould invent and give to the world ſuch a farrago reſpecting lord Lovat, compoſed entirely of incredible lies and palpable contradictions, without the ſhadow of probability, reality or common ſenſe.

The deſign of the author is ſufficiently evident. His book is entirely calculated to undermine the reputation, the intereſt, and the lives of the dukes of Queenſberry and Argyle, and the earl of Leven, the moſt formidable enemies of his party; and to give to the world as undoubted realities, the dark inventions of the duke of Hamilton and the lords Athol and Tarbat, produced by the fear of puniſhment for their correſpondence with the court of St. Germains,

mains, at the ſame time that they pre- PART
tended to be the zealous partiſans of the II. §. 1.
court of London.

In proſecuting this deſign he endeavours to throw upon the ſhoulders of the firſt mentioned noblemen the contrivance of a project, of which they knew as much as the khan of Crim Tartary. He repreſents them as ſending for lord Lovat, their intimate friend, whom (probably by a miracle) this viſionary writer repreſents as acquainted with the nature and particulars of their plot, at the diſtance of two hundred leagues, and at a time, when the commerce of letters was totally rendered impracticable by the war. In the next place, by a miracle not leſs wonderful, he converts lord Lovat to the popiſh religion, by the advice and command of his patrons, Queenſberry, Argyle, Leven and Carſtares, the pillars of the preſbyterian religion in Scotland: a moſt admirable means which this author has diſcovered, for advancing the intereſts of the proteſtant ſucceſſion!

And upon this foundation, equally chimerical, falſe, ſcandalous and diabolical, the

PART II. §. 1. the author commences his narrative with calumniating lord Lovat. He makes him, in the firſt place, guilty of a rape; a crime of which he was as innocent as the child unborn, and which the whole north of Scotland, where lord Lovat has always been, and is at this day much loved and reſpected, knows to have had no foundation, but in the malicious invention of lord Athol; in order to accumulate the crime of high treaſon againſt king William, with which he charged him; and to make himſelf maſter of his eſtate; for which tyranny the name of Athol is regarded with odium and horror through the whole north of Scotland.

The author proceeds with his ridiculous ſuppoſitions, and ſends lord Lovat into France three years before he quitted his own country: not knowing probably, that lord Lovat obtained a pardon from king William; and that, at the time of that prince's death, he was in quiet poſſeſſion of his eſtates, and about to commence a proſecution againſt lord Athol, which would have reduced him to the ſame beggary, as the young lord Murrays his brothers: not knowing,

knowing, that it was at the acceſſion of queen Anne, and her declared favouritiſm to lord Athol and his other enemies, that lord Lovat proclaimed his ſovereign in his own province, and afterwards entered into an engagement with the moſt conſiderable of the loyal nobility and heads of clans, previous to his paſſing into France. PART II. §. I.

The author of the memoirs repreſents lord Lovat as obtaining a commiſſion of major-general from king James, and a power to raiſe and command forces in his behalf, which, telling the truth for once in his life, he adds, was "the main thing lord "Lovat aimed at." But, as impoſtors are generally deficient in memory, the author forgets that he had, in the preceding page, repreſented lord Lovat as repulſed in the moſt diſgraceful manner by the late king *.

But I know not whether I ought to have paid any attention to the calumnies of this

* Mr. Lockhart is not perhaps in this inſtance guilty of the contradiction imputed to him. In the paſſage laſt alluded to, he ſpeaks of king James the ſecond; and in the former he probably alludes to the prince, whom he ſtyles king James the third.

inſolent

PART II. §. 1.

inſolent writer, or to have given myſelf the trouble to refute an idiot, who contradicts himſelf in every page reſpecting this chimerical plot. It is evident, that he is not only ignorant of the whole north of Scotland, but that he knows neither the character nor hiſtory of lord Lovat, except from the miſrepreſentations of lord Athol and his creatures. It is not leſs evident, that he is equally ignorant of the politics of France and St. Germains, except from the confuſed and nonſenſical ideas, that he has imbibed from the drunken Jacobites who frequented Peter Steele's tavern at Edinburgh.

He ought not ſurely upon the report of people of that claſs to have calumniated lord Lovat, who was from his earlieſt infancy engaged in military and political affairs, in which aſſuredly the genius and courage of this author would have been not unfrequently embarraſſed. This will be ſufficiently evident from a few inſtances, which I think it neceſſary to cite, and in which I ſhall be obliged to repeat certain particulars which have already been related.

The

The author of theſe memoirs was probably ignorant, that lord Lovat was impriſoned for his exertions in the royal cauſe at the age of thirteen years, and at the very time that his elder brother was the firſt to join in the expedition of lord viſcount Dundee.* PART II. §. 1.

* 1689

He was ignorant, that at the age of ſixteen years,‖ and after the death of his elder brother and of lord Dundee, lord Lovat joined the inſurrection in favour of king James of general Thomas Buchan †.

‖ 1692

The author was ignorant, that at the age of twenty years ‡ lord Lovat expoſed his life with lord Mariſhal, lord Drummond, lord Kilſeith, and other noble priſoners, by concurring in a deſign to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Edinburgh in favour of king James, who was then expected in Scotland.

‡ 1696

The author was ignorant, that at the age of twenty-three years ¶, being perſecuted by the preſent lord Athol, and knowing that it had been menaced by

¶ 1699

† There is ſome miſtake in this place. General Buchan's inſurrection belongs to the year 1690.

the

PART II. §. I.

the old marquis of Athol, that, in caſe king James ſhould be reſtored, he would trample upon lord Lovat and his clan, as completely as his ſon did by the authority of king William, this nobleman went into France in order to expoſtulate with the late king James; who received him, in the preſence of the queen, the young prince, lord Perth, and ſir John Maclean, all four ſtill living, with as much friendſhip and condeſcenſion as he ever extended to a ſubject; at the ſame time giving lord Lovat under his hand the moſt honourable teſtimony, and the moſt magnificent promiſes, which are ſtill in the poſſeſſion of a man of rank, and lord Lovat's intimate friend.

Such was the diſhonourable manner in which king James drove lord Lovat from the court of St. Germains; and ſuch the only voyage that lord Lovat made into France during the life of king William, and which laſted only for fifteen days: circumſtances, which ought to confound the author of theſe memoirs, when he ſees the whole fabric of his plot overturned by ſo ſimple a tale.

That

PART II. §. 1.

That author ought to be extremely confounded, when he knows, that, after the death of king William, not only the loyal highland lairds, but alſo the earl of Errol, the earl Mariſhal, lord Drummond, and all the other noblemen of the low country ſincerely attached to their ſovereign, entered into an engagement with lord Lovat, to riſk their lives and fortunes for the reſtoration of their exiled prince; and that, upon his arrival at the courts of St. Germains and France, he was received with more diſtinction than any Scotſman had hitherto been.

Add to this, that, even after the diſcovery of his project both in Scotland and England, lord Lovat, upon his return into France with new aſſurances from the king's faithful ſubjects, was equally well received as at firſt; that he negociated for ſix months with the miniſters of ſtate and the marſhals of France for the completion of the expedition; and that the naval and land armaments were ready, when the queen, governed by lord Middleton, with an unexampled weakneſs refuſed to iſſue commiſſions to her ſubjects to join the troops of France:

PART II. §. 1.

France: a conduct, which was the visible cause of preventing the restoration of her son, and of infinite mischief to the affairs of France.

And what ought for ever to confound the author of the Scottish memoirs, is, that, after the insurrection had thus completely failed, and lord Lovat for the loudness of his resentment was persecuted with great rancour by the queen and lord Middleton, the court of France, so celebrated for its wisdom and sagacity, knowing the advantageous commission this nobleman had brought into France, and the strength of the party in Scotland with which he was engaged, and convinced of his zeal and fidelity, far from uniting with the court of St. Germains in his persecution, protected him against all their machinations and malice. The king of France had the goodness to bestow upon him various gratifications, beside a pension of four thousand francs *, which is the ordinary half-pay of a major-general. His majesty had the kindness, in spite of the

* 166l. 13s. 4d.

reiterated

reiterated and inceſſant calumnies of the court of St. Germains, to continue this penſion to lord Lovat, for more than ten years, till his departure into England: and in the courſe of the laſt war, when France was obliged to pay all the world in paper, lord Lovat may ſay, that he was perhaps the only man in the kingdom, who received his penſion in money. Indeed he was protected to the laſt by the marquis de Torcy and other French noblemen, his friends, againſt all the fury of his enemies in Scotland and at St. Germains. PART II. §. 1.

From what has been advanced it is as clear as the day, that the project of lord Lovat was real, ſolid, well founded and well conducted, and the moſt promiſing that ever was formed for the reſtoration of king James; and that the "ſham plot" of the author of the Memoirs had no foundation, but in the malicious invention of lord Athol and lord Tarbat, in order to ruin the dukes of Queenſberry and Argyle in England and lord Lovat in France; a circumſtance, that ought to render their memory odious to the lateſt poſterity.

PART II. §. 1.

In ſupporting the impeached honour of lord Lovat, I have found myſelf obliged to do juſtice to the dukes of Queenſberry and Argyle, who were noblemen incapable of the baſeneſs imputed to them by the author of the Memoirs, and who knew no more of the project than the Great Mogul, till it was betrayed by Mr. James Murray and ſir John Maclean. After this treachery, which was yet incapable of ruining the ſcheme, the dukes of Argyle and Queenſberry never deſired lord Lovat to diſcloſe to them the ſmalleſt circumſtance reſpecting it, if we except the queſtion of the duke of Queenſberry in regard to the duke of Hamilton and lord Athol. I leave therefore this miſerable author to the pungency of his remorſe, for having invented a plot, not leſs malicious than chimerical, and which he has not been able to patch together without the moſt palpable contradictions. I return to lord Lovat's journey, and the narrative of his real project for the reſtoration of his king, the relation of which, in all its parts, is calculated to overturn the abſurd and imaginary plot of the author of the Memoirs of Scotland.

SECT. II.

LORD Lovat, arrived at Rotterdam, was extremely embarraſſed, concerning the manner in which he ſhould paſs, from the frontiers of Holland to the French army in Flanders. The Dutch had ſtrictly prohibited to all their ſubjects, either to go into Flanders, or to let out horſes or equipages to hire for that purpoſe, without their orders, under pain of death. Every perſon was ſearched and ſtrictly examined, as he entered or went out of the frontier towns of the United Provinces. PART II. §. 2. 1703.

Unable otherwiſe to extricate himſelf from this dilemma, lord Lovat repaired to the Hague, and applied to an Iriſh Roman Catholic merchant, to whom he had recommendations, to procure him a paſſport at a ſtipulated price. This merchant introduced lord Lovat to the ſecretary, by whoſe means he was accuſtomed to obtain paſſports; but he found it impoſſible to ſucceed in the preſent conjuncture. He obſerved however to this nobleman, that it was neceſſary for him to quit the Hague immediately,

PART II. §. 2. 1703.

diately, since he would infallibly be a dead man if he were known.

Lord Lovat accordingly took his passage that very hour in the trechschuyt of Delft, having remained at the Hague only seven or eight hours. He left behind him his brother and major Fraser, who had accompanied him from Scotland, and who staid that night at the Hague in order to see the archduke, then upon his passage for Spain, having assumed the title of Charles the third, king of Spain and the Indies.

It may be observed by the way, that major George Fraser had actual rank in France, where he had served fourteen years, and that lord Lovat had obtained of the marquis de Torcy, as an extraordinary favour, to have his company to Scotland, on account of his high and deserved reputation, as a very brave man, and an excellent officer. The brother of lord Lovat had been almost compelled by that nobleman, he having obtained for him a provisional pension of ten thousand livres * from the courts of France and St. Germains,

* 400l.

to

to quit Scotland, in order to be educated with his young ſovereign at Paris. And a circumſtance, which further overthrows the ideas of the author of the Memoirs of Scotland, is that the brother of lord Lovat, during the term of his reſidence upon the continent, conſtantly received a penſion from the king of France, under the name of the chevalier Fraſer, diſtinct from that which was beſtowed upon lord Lovat.

PART II. §. 2. 1703.

Lord Lovat had left the Hague ſcarcely two hours, when the officers of juſtice ſearched all the taverns and coffee-houſes in the town for him, at the ſame time deſcribing his perſon: whether it were, that he was betrayed by the Iriſh merchant, or was known by any Scotſman reſiding at that place. He received intilligence of the danger he had eſcaped from major Fraſer and his brother; and, apprehenſive that it was not yet over, he reſolved to ſet out without delay for the frontiers.

In this ſituation he recollected the letter he had received from old Mr. Ferguſon at London to major general Ferguſon, his bro-

PART II. §. 2. 1705. ther, who commanded the troops at Boiſle-duc. With this recommendation he determined to ſet out for that fortreſs; himſelf, his brother and major Fraſer having diſguiſed themſelves in the uniform of Dutch officers.

Upon their arrival lord Lovat was immediately known, by an officer of general Murray's regiment, who was upon guard at the gates, and by two ſoldiers of the Fraſer clan. Theſe laſt informed a great number of Fraſers, who were in the Scottiſh regiments, that garriſoned that place. They accordingly flocked to the tavern where lord Lovat had taken up his quarters, and with a thoughtleſs and unreflecting zeal threw themſelves at his feet, ſaying, that having now the happineſs to meet with their chief, they would never more loſe ſight of him, but would follow him wherever he went, into France, or to the end of the world. Lord Lovat, perceiving the imminent danger in which theſe poor fellows had involved him, commanded them, each man to return to his ſtation, and not to viſit him again till night, adding, that his life would be the forfeit of their diſobedience.

In

PART II. §. 2. 1703.

In the evening he waited upon general Ferguſon, who, having read his brother's letter, intreating him to communicate to lord Lovat every thing that he knew reſpecting the intereſts of the king, and to beſtow upon him all the attentions in his power, deſired that nobleman to ſup with him alone, obſerving, that he could inform him of ſeveral things of the laſt importance to the two courts. When lord Lovat waited upon him in purſuance of his invitation, the general aſſured him, that, though he had been obliged for ſubſiſtence to enter into the ſervice of king William and the Dutch republic, he had always been in his heart faithfully attached to king James. He ſaid, that he ſhould be charmed to meet with a favourable occaſion of ſhedding his blood for the reſtoration of his prince.

The more unqueſtionably to prove his zeal for this intereſt, he gave lord Lovat a copy of the ſecret intelligence, that M. Ivoye, at that time governor of Boiſleduc, and a general officer of the Dutch artillery, had received from the ſecretaries of M. Chamillard, the French miniſter for the war

PART II. §. 2. 1703.

department. In theſe letters all the deſigns of France reſpecting Spain, Flanders, and the other countries that were the ſeat of war, were detailed; deſigns, which the king of France conceived to be unknown to any perſon beſide his miniſter and favourite, M. Chamillard. This ſtateſman, under the influence of a weakneſs fatal to his country, diſcovered them to his ſecretaries, who ſold them again to the enemies of their king; and M. Ivoye had a round ſum of money every year from the ſtates of Holland for this buſineſs. It is indeed notorious, that this infamous traffic was carried on with more ſucceſs under the adminiſtration of M. Chamillard, than it had ever been before; it being extremely rare for Frenchmen to betray the intereſts of their monarch. Lord Lovat ſtaid with general Ferguſon till after midnight; and the general told him, that he would ſend his valet de chambre to introduce him again the next day by a private door.

In the morning however the commander found his garriſon alarmed and mutinous. Some officers of the regiments of Orkney and Murray, relations and friends of lord Athol,

Athol, underſtood, that lord Lovat was in the town, and had been addreſſed by ſeveral ſoldiers of the Fraſer clan, who were enliſted in their regiments. Theſe gentlemen immediately ſpread a report, that he was come thither to debauch the Scottiſh garriſon, and induce them to deſert. The officers in general had heard this report, and repreſented it to their commander, deſiring him to arreſt lord Lovat, as an enemy to the ſtate, and a partiſan and emiſſary of France. PART II. §. 2. 1703.

Upon this event general Ferguſon diſpatched immediately a meſſage to bring lord Lovat incognito to his quarters. He told him with concern, the great danger in which he was; that it was neceſſary he ſhould diſguiſe himſelf, and ſet out upon the ſpot, ſince, if the Dutch had the leaſt rumour of the intelligence which had been ſpread by the Scottiſh officers, it would be impoſſible to ſave his life, or hinder him from being cut into a thouſand pieces. Lord Lovat thanked general Ferguſon with great warmth, and told him, that he was ready to ſet out inſtantly, provided

PART II. §. 2. 1703.

vided he had the means of arriving in ſafety at Antwerp.

The affair was difficult, but Mr. Fergu-ſon accompliſhed it, by means of a ſum of money, and by the aſſiſtance of a rich Dutch Roman Catholic merchant, whom he knew to be extremely attached to the French intereſt. This merchant brought to Mr. Ferguſon and lord Lovat a Catholic poſtilion, whom he uſed when he went to Antwerp and Bruſſels in time of peace. The poſtilion had three ſaddle and one draught-horſe. He agreed to conduct lord Lovat and his brother to Antwerp upon two of the ſaddle horſes, himſelf being mounted upon the third; offering his little country cart to convey major Fraſer and lord Lovat's page. At the ſame time he demanded a hundred louis d'or * upon the ſpot, in ready money, fifty for the riſk of his horſes, and fifty for the riſk of his life, both of them being forfeited in caſe of a diſcovery.

Lord Lovat counted down the ſum required, and, by the advice of Mr. Fergu-

* 100 l.

ſon,

PART II. §. 2.

ſon, diſguiſed himſelf like a carter, in order to drive the cart out of the town. In this diſguiſe he paſſed all the gates and redoubts of Boiſleduc on the ſide of Antwerp, the centinels being extremely numerous in that direction. Major Fraſer and lord Lovat's brother eſcaped in the habit of poor citizens of Boiſleduc. The rendezvous was fixed with the poſtilion at a league from the town, and he arrived about half an hour after ſunſet with his three horſes. Lord Lovat and his brother immediately mounted, and, having recommended themſelves to the care of providence, they travelled all night, in order to reach the neighbourhood of Antwerp before break of day. This was the road in all Europe the moſt dangerous, upon account of the partiſans and detachments that roamed up and down the country day and night.

Near to the large town which lies half way between Antwerp and Boiſleduc, the night being very dark, lord Lovat, his brother and the poſtilion found themſelves in a manner ſurrounded by a party of fifty or ſixty men. The poſtilion proving faint-hearted,

PART II. §. 2. 1703.

hearted, lord Lovat was obliged to threaten him, and to deſire his brother to blow out his brains, if he did not follow them without heſitation. In the mean time, with his piſtol cocked in his hand, he ſpurred his horſe acroſs the high road in which the party were, in order to gain the heaths on the ſide of Breda.

Having galloped half a league acroſs this wide plain, lord Lovat ſaid to his guide, "You ſee we are now out of reach of the "detachment; are you able in the dark "to find once more the Antwerp road? "No," ſaid the poſtilion, "I do not know "how to find the high road; but I know "that there is a bridge, ſomewhere about "three leagues from hence, which we "muſt croſs, if we would not make an el-"bow of ſix. But at this bridge," added he, "there is almoſt always ſtationed a "ſmall party of the garriſon of Breda, and "we muſt not go near it without learning "whether or not it is guarded." Lord Lovat had travelled over this very country the preceding year; and, having accurately marked the ſituation of Antwerp, he replied to the guide,

guide, "Fear nothing, I know perfectly "well which way Antwerp lies, and I will "find my way by the ſtars, without going "a league out of the right direction, one "way or the other." PART II. §. 2. 1703.

Saying this, they proceeded; and the poſtilion obſerving in a ſhort time that they were not above a quarter of a league from the bridge he had mentioned, they agreed to advance to a neighbouring cottage. The poſtilion having called to the peaſant in the jargon of the country, he roſe, and lord Lovat gave him a crown * to go before and reconnoitre whether the bridge were guarded. The peaſant found nobody; and returning, lord Lovat gave him a trifle more. Approaching mean while with a cautious pace towards the bridge, and hearing no noiſe, he ſpurred his horſe vigorouſly, and paſſed over at a hand gallop. From this place they continued to travel the ſame rate; till they arrived at break of day within a league and a half of Antwerp, lord Lovat being extremely glad to find himſelf out of danger.

Having entered the city, he ordered himſelf to be conducted to the quarters of mar-

* Two ſhillings and ſixpence.

ſhal

PART II. §. 2. 1703.

ſhal Villeroi, who received him in a moſt obliging manner, and inſiſted upon his dining with him. Lord Lovat was alone with marſhal Villeroi, and the duke de Villeroi, his ſon. Upon this occaſion he acquainted them with the particulars he had learned reſpecting the archduke, as well as with the treachery of the ſecretaries of M. Chamillard. Villeroi immediately diſpatched a courier with this intelligence to Verſailles, at the ſame time deſiring lord Lovat to do him the honour to repoſe himſelf for a few days at Antwerp, and entreating him to accept of his equipage when he choſe to ſet out for Paris. Lord Lovat thanked the marſhal very much, but added, that he was reſolved to take poſt, as ſoon as major Fraſer his relation, whom he had left upon the road, and reſpecting whoſe ſafety he was in ſome pain, ſhould arrive.

It was not without reaſon that lord Lovat was anxious upon this head. The major and lord Lovat's page, in paſſing from Boiſleduc to Antwerp, went ſeven or eight leagues out of the way, and, being obliged to conceal themſelves in the day time, they were four nights in the moſt immineut riſk

riſk of their lives before they joined lord Lovat. This nobleman, thinking that they had been aſſaſſinated or made priſoners, was delighted to ſee them arrive at Antwerp. He diſmiſſed the poſtilion with an additional gratuity: ſo that the ſeventeen leagues from Boiſleduc to Antwerp, beſide the danger of his life, coſt lord Lovat more than an hundred and ten louis d'or; and he thought himſelf too happy, at that price, to be ſheltered in the midſt of the French army. 1704.

Lord Lovat, having made his court, during the few days he ſpent at Antwerp and Bruſſels, to marſhal Villeroi and the duke his ſon, took poſt with the gentlemen who were with him for Paris, where he arrived in twenty-four hours after he had left Bruſſels.

He went immediately to pay his duty to cardinal Gualterio and the marquis de Torcy, and to give them an account of his expedition. They received him with their uſual kindneſs, and were charmed to ſee him eſcaped from ſo many dangers, and ſtill in a condition to execute his project.

The

PART II. §. 2. 1704.

The next day he repaired to St. Germains, where the queen received him with extraordinary marks of condeſcenſion and amity, thanking God, that he had eſcaped the numerous perils, which he had encountered for her ſervice.

Lord Middleton, and the duke of Berwick, who was juſt ſetting out for Spain to ſupport king Philip againſt the archduke, came together into the antichamber of the queen, to embrace lord Lovat. They received him with open arms, and conducted him to the apartments of the duke, where they both expreſſed themſelves towards him in the moſt polite and obliging terms. Lord Lovat recounted in a brief manner the adventures of his journey. Lord Middleton was overjoyed to ſee him arrived in ſafety after ſo many dangers; adding, that he muſt now think no more of returning into Scotland, till his king ſhould accompany him in perſon; that he ſaw innumerable difficulties in his ſcheme; and that it was neceſſary at length to give it up, as attended with too many perils.

Lord

Lord Lovat told him, that his queen and the court of France muſt diſpoſe of his project as they pleaſed; for himſelf, he ſhould always be ready to obey their inſtructions. Lord Middleton, in order to convince lord Lovat of the ſincerity of his attachment, added, that he would ſpeak to the king to beſtow upon him the blue ribbon of his country, aſſuring him, that he would add new luſtre to that honourable order. PART II. §. 2. 1704.

Lord Lovat returned from St. Germains to Paris, perfectly ſatisfied with his reception. In arriving however at his own apartments, he fell ſick of an illneſs, contracted by the incredible fatigues he had ſuffered for eight months paſt. This was the fatal accident, which ruined at once his own affairs and thoſe of his prince. Lord Middleton eagerly embraced the opportunity, to eradicate from the breaſt of his miſtreſs every impreſſion ſhe yet retained in his favour.

The queen in the mean time being informed of the illneſs of lord Lovat, and yet continuing to regard him with her accuſ-

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tomed complacency, ſent him the following letter entirely written with her own hand, and which lord Lovat ſtill preſerves, as a teſtimony, to confound the calumnies of thoſe who afterwards perſecuted him.

" My lord,

" I am extremely afflicted at the news of " your illneſs, and I ſincerely pray God to " reſtore your health, that I may oblige the " king my ſon to beſtow upon your perſon " and family ſuch diſtinguiſhed marks of " his eſteem, as may ſuffice to convince po- " ſterity, that the king is indebted to you " for every future degree of proſperity he " may enjoy, as much as to any ſubject.

(Signed)

" M. R."

After receiving this letter, lord Lovat conceived himſelf to be ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in the mind of the queen, that nothing could ſhake him; but he was extremely miſtaken. By the intrigues and inſinuations of lord Middleton, her majeſty ſoon after became his declared enemy, and continued ſo for eleven years, in ſpite of all

the efforts of himſelf and his friends to excite her majeſty's clemency, or convince her of her injuſtice. PART II. §. 2. 1704.

Lord Lovat's illneſs laſted three weeks, and when he left his chamber, he received from cardinal Gualterio, and the marquis de Torcy the agreeable intelligence, that the moſt Chriſtian king was as determined as ever to execute the project, and to ſend, in order to ſupport the loyal Scots, an army of five or ſix thouſand men, with every other neceſſary aſſiſtance of arms, money, ammunition and proviſions. They added, that he muſt immediately, in conjunction with the marſhal de Coeuvre, vice-admiral of France, and, ſince the death of his father, marſhal d'Etrées, employ himſelf in digeſting the buſineſs. At the ſame time the cardinal obſerved to lord Lovat, that he ſhould join with him, in this employment, the marquis de Callieres, ſecretary of the cabinet to the moſt Chriſtian king, and the intimate friend of the cardinal and the marquis de Torcy.

The marſhal de Coeuvre was endowed with an underſtanding, active, penetrating,

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and heroic. He was of a diſtinguiſhed valour, and poſſeſſed much of the confidence of the king. He had entered into very cloſe connections with cardinal Gualterio and the marquis de Torcy.

The marquis de Callieres was a man of a clear and ſolid underſtanding, of a ſuperior genius for the affairs and intrigues of ſtate, and conſummate in every thing that conſtitutes the character of an able miniſter. He was better acquainted with the affairs of foreign countries, than the natives themſelves. But what was moſt admirable in his character was his rare integrity and inviolable probity, and that he was the beſt friend that ever exiſted. He was ſo invincibly attached to his word and his friendſhip, that no power and no misfortune upon earth could ever lead him to depart from them, or prevent him from ſupporting oppreſſed innocence, and aſſerting the truth with which he was acquainted.

Lord Lovat entered into the affair with theſe two great men; and the cardinal and M. de Torcy frequently viſited them at their labour, to obſerve their progreſs, and aſſiſt

assist them with their advice. Lord Middleton, being informed by his spies that lord Lovat was shut up for hours together with these distinguished personages, no longer doubted of the determination of the court of France respecting the Scottish insurrection. Always impressed with the infallible ruin that awaited him if the project succeeded, he now applied himself wholly to engage the queen to oppose it effectually and in earnest. PART II. §. 2. 1704.

For this purpose he exerted his utmost endeavours, to make lord Lovat appear in the blackest colours to the queen, and even to the French administration; and this at the very time that he wrote to him letters, filled with the most liberal expressions of amity and attachment. Lord Lovat having shown these letters to the cardinal de Noailles, cardinal Gualterio, the marshal de Coeuvre, and the marquises de Torcy and de Callieres, lord Middleton has always been regarded by these noblemen, as false, insincere, double and hypocritical. It was their undoubted persuasion of this fact, that in the event was the means of saving lord Lovat.

PART II §. 2. 1704.

At this period the impudent traitor, James Murray, arrived from Scotland, bringing with him ſuppoſititious papers, fabricated by lord Middleton, and other calumnies, ſent by lord Athol. From this moment lord Middleton threw off the maſk. He openly aſſured the court of France, that lord Lovat had betrayed his own project to the dukes of Queenſberry and Argyle, and the earl of Leven; though all Scotland knew, that the project had been betrayed by this very James Murray, two months before the arrival of lord Lovat, and that the traitor had publiſhed the moſt bitter invectives againſt his queen, which lord Lovat every where counteracted by the warmeſt eulogiums. In the mean time this wretch, being the creature of lord Middleton, was graciouſly received, implicitly credited, and obtained the higheſt rewards from the queen. Her majeſty entered with equal readineſs into all the ſentiments of lord Middleton for the deſtruction of lord Lovat.

They were ſo urgent in their infamous charges againſt him, that the marquis de Torcy thought proper to ſend for this nobleman

bleman to his cloſet, and minutely to examine for four hours into all his proceedings in the execution of his commiſſion, of which he had already given an account to this miniſter in writing. This great ſtateſman then did him the honour to expreſs his ſentiments upon the ſubject in theſe words; "I am perſuaded of your fidelity and inno- "cence. You are however extremely to "be lamented, ſince the court of St. Ger- "mains ſpares nothing to paint you as "black as hell. But fear nothing, you "have the king my maſter on your ſide." —It will not be improper to ſay a word here, *en paſſant*, of the character of the marquis de Torcy, though I am extremely incapable of placing it in the light it deſerves. PART II. §. 2. 1704.

M. de Torcy was the moſt bland and condeſcending miniſter in Europe. The equanimity of his character was ſo great, that he was never known to loſe his temper. His underſtanding was ſo penetrating, that nothing could eſcape it. His genius was ſo ſolid and perſevering, that all his projects ſucceeded, or at leaſt never failed through his fault. His great talents

PART II. §. 2. 1704.

made him one of the ableſt ſtateſmen in the world; and his amiable qualities gained him the hearts of every man, native or foreigner, who had any intercourſe with him.

He had other perfections, by ſo much the more admirable, as they are not always found in conjunction with agreable talents and firſt-rate abilities. It may be ſaid without flattery of the marquis de Torcy, that there was not an honeſter man in the world. His probity was ſo invincible, that the mines of Peru would have been incapable of making him ſay or do any thing, inconſiſtent with duty, juſtice and truth. To this rare quality it may be added, that there never exiſted a friend more ſincere, or more unchangeable. It was impoſſible to have an opportunity of nearly examining this great miniſter without loving and reſpecting him.

Lord Lovat was penetrated with grief and indignation, when the marquis de Torcy related the diſgraceful character given of him by the court of St. Germains, and when he of conſequence ſaw all the dangers he had encountered, and the

the ſervices he had performed, repaid only with the moſt unexampled calumny and the blackeſt ingratitude. He took leave of the marquis, and retired to his *auberge*, in the leſſer place at Verſailles, determined never more to interfere with the affairs of that ungrateful court. He ſeated himſelf in a diſconſolate poſture, and, leaning upon a table, ruminated upon the means of quitting France with honour.

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While he was in this humour, his landlady entered the room, to tell him that there was below ſtairs a gentleman in a gold-laced coat, who wiſhed to ſpeak to him in private, but would not come into lord Lovat's apartment. Lord Lovat took his ſword in his hand, and went towards the ſtairs. Mean while the viſitor aſcended, and bid the landlady withdraw the candle.

He came up to lord Lovat, complimented him upon having done the greateſt ſervices to the court of France and to his king; but added, that he had very powerful enemies; that they had at laſt obtained an order from the moſt Chriſtian king

to

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to throw him into the Baſtile; that the warrant was already in the hands of the officers of the *grand prevôt*; that they were upon the hunt for him; and that one of his friends, being acquainted with the affair, had deſired this meſſenger to inform him, that he muſt fly immediately, if he would eſcape irretrievable ruin.

Lord Lovat anſwered his intelligencer with great firmneſs, that he did not at all underſtand what he meaned; but that he had nothing to do but to return to the perſon who ſent him, with aſſurances, that he was as ſincerely attached as any man to the moſt Chriſtian king; that he had faithfully ſerved his prince and the intereſts of France; and that he was therefore under no apprehenſions, but ſhould wait in perfect tranquility for every thing that might befal him.

At this reply the ſtranger appeared to be much confuſed. Lord Lovat immediately comprehended, that, as he was upon good terms with the court of France, this muſt be a contrivance of his enemies at the

the court of St. Germains, in order to ruin him, if he had been fool or coward enough to give into their ſnare. He afterwards learned that this treacherous intelligencer was no other than James Murray, whom lord Middleton had ſent, either to aſſaſſinate or entrap him. PART II. §. 2. 1704.

Lord Lovat, having paſſed a very bad night, between mortification and reſentment, arrived at ſeven o'clock in the morning at the houſe of the marquis de Callieres, who always protected him, being better acquainted than any other perſon with his loyalty and zeal. Having acquainted this miniſter with the malicious turn that had been played him, M. de Callieres was extremely irritated, and ſaid, that it was one of lord Middleton's infamous tricks, but that he would immediately wait upon the marquis de Torcy, to conſult with him upon what had happened. In the mean time he deſired lord Lovat to wait in his apartment till he returned.

When he came back, he had the goodneſs to conſole lord Lovat by informing him, that

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that M. de Torcy was perfectly satisfied of his zeal and fidelity, that he need therefore fear nothing from the court of St. Germains, and that he ought not to lose courage, or even relax of his zeal for the Scottish expedition, since he had the court of France on his side, which was alone able to carry it into execution. Being thus supported by the marquis de Torcy, and consoled by M. de Callieres, lord Lovat returned to Paris, to work in his usual manner with the marshal de Coeuvre.

Soon after this interview, the more to confound the enemies of lord Lovat, his grace the duke of Perth, a man of high and punctilious honour, and who may without flattery be said to have been, of all the ministers at St. Germains, the king's most zealous and faithful servant, received a letter from Scotland from his eldest son lord Drummond, who, of his own mere motion, and totally ignorant of the persecution which was at this time begun against lord Lovat in France, wrote in a manner, which not only most amply justified, but implied the highest applause of the conduct of his lordship.

He

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He asserted, that lord Lovat had rendered the most essential services to the royal interest in Scotland, and that it was not possible sufficiently to praise his zeal, his fidelity, and the intrepidity he had displayed, in so warmly urging the resolution to take arms at all events. He added, that above all, his dexterity ought to be greatly admired, and munificently rewarded, in having with so much readiness and policy amused the duke of Queensberry, and by that means saved the lives of Mr. John Murray and himself, without incurring the smallest injury to the royal cause. At the same time he referred to Mr. John Murray for an explicit detail of all that had been done in the affair *. This by the way serves further to overthrow

* In Macpherson's Original Papers, in which the evidence against lord Lovat is carefully collected, a letter upon this subject from lord Drummond to the duke of Perth is mentioned in a billet of lord Middleton, but the letter itself does not appear. Whether it were suppressed by Mr. Macpherson, from the apprehension that contradictory evidence would only serve to bewilder his reader, or were destroyed by lord Middleton and his friends, this circumstance may seem calculated to confirm lord Lovat's narrative. It may be observed, that, so far as appears, lord Drummond and Mr. John Murray were uniform in the assertion of his lordship's innocence.

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the aſſertions of the author of the Memoirs of Scotland.

Lord Perth triumphed extremely at the receipt of this letter, as he had been deeply embarked in the Scottiſh project, and lord Drummond his eldeſt ſon, earl Mariſhal his ſon-in-law, and the earl of Errol his brother-in-law, were at the head of it. Lord Perth upon this occaſion vindicated with ſo much zeal and fervency the honour and incorruptibility of lord Lovat, to the courts both of France and St. Germains, that he embroiled himſelf irretrievably with the queen. He repaired with equal haſte to ſhew this letter to the marquiſes de Torcy and de Callieres, cardinal Gualterio, and the marſhal de Coeuvre, who were all of them extremely delighted with its contents. Mean while the friends of lord Lovat exclaimed loudly againſt lord Middleton, his calumnies, and his unjuſt proceedings.

The marquis de Torcy and the cardinal now ſpoke afreſh to the king of the benefit he would derive to his affairs from favouring the Scottiſh inſurrection, and his majeſty was

was accordingly induced to undertake it without delay. The next day he ſpoke to the marſhal de Coeuvre to form ſuitable arrangements with M. de Pointis, who was to command the ſquadron. Meantime the marſhal worked, without intermiſſion, with lord Lovat and the other perſons deſtined to aſſiſt in the expedition. PART II. §. 2. 1704.

Lord Middleton now underſtood, that the court of France had taken its determination, and that lord Lovat exclaimed loudly againſt him and the intrigues he had formed to ruin the Scottiſh affairs. He ſaw, that the French adminiſtration paid no attention to his malicious memorials, and that the letter of lord Drummond was conſtantly objected to him, as fully juſtifying lord Lovat. Thus circumſtanced, he had the impudence, having been at daggers-drawing with lord Perth ever ſince their arrival in France, to accuſe this reſpectable nobleman of having invented, forged and ſuborned this letter, to ſerve the intereſts of his faction.

Lord Perth, whoſe rectitude and probity were never before called in queſtion by his

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his greateſt enemies, was conſtrained upon this occaſion to prove the hand writing of his ſon, by a compariſon with ſeveral letters that lord Drummond had written to the queen. He further proved, that this letter had been conveyed to him, by a ſecret addreſs, through the hands of Mr. Drummond, banker at Amſterdam. In fine, lord Middleton univerſally paſſed for a baſe calumniator. The queen herſelf, who was the only perſon that had ever given into his unworthy ſuſpicions, was at length convinced of their falſhood and injuſtice.

The miniſter was not yet deterred by the ſhame and confuſion he had incurred in thus aſperſing lord Perth. He ſaw himſelf upon the eve of being ruined for ever by the project of the Scottiſh inſurrection. He tortured his invention to find out calumnies againſt lord Lovat, that might finally remove his apprehenſions, and enable the queen to demand from his moſt Chriſtian majeſty that he ſhould be committed to priſon. The ſcheme he at length ſelected was the moſt extravagant and abſurd that could be conceived. He perſuaded the queen that lord Lovat had engaged

ſir

ſir Alexander Maclean, captain in the regiment of Dorrington, to join with him in attacking the duke of Berwick and lord Middleton, in the middle of the night, in the galleries of St. Germains. 1704.

As ſir Alexander Maclean was poor, and had juſt married an Engliſh woman, one of the ſempſtreſſes to the queen, lord Middleton entertained no doubt, that, by an offer of ten thouſand francs * in ready money, and a penſion of two thouſand livres †, he ſhould eaſily induce him to advance any thing he pleaſed to effect the ruin of lord Lovat. It appeared however in the event that he was extremely miſtaken.

In the mean time the queen received this romance for an undoubted truth, and made her complaints reſpecting it to the court of France. Cardinal Gualterio was ſo highly irritated and aſhamed at this conduct of her majeſty, that he went purpoſely to St. Germains to tell her, that ſhe ought never to mention to the court of France, a thing ſo

* 400l. † 80l.

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extravagant, and so entirely destitute of probability, that such a procedure must necessarily give the most Christian king and his ministers the most unfavourable impression of her majesty.

At the same moment sir Alexander Maclean declared publicly, in what manner he had been tampered with, and the extraordinary reward that had been offered, to induce him to maintain what was necessary for the destruction of lord Lovat. He had rejected the proposal with disdain, and was extremely incensed that such an idea had been entertained of him. He said, that he would not accept the bribe of a kingdom for the ruin of his countryman and friend, in opposition to honour and conscience; that he had never heard lord Lovat speak but with extreme respect and affection of the duke of Berwick, who had always treated him with the greatest condescension; and that neither lord Lovat nor himself were fools or mad enough, to think of attacking the principal persons of the royal court, in the palace of their sovereign, and in the midst of the French guards.

I do not believe that the queen had any other ſhare in this flagitious calumny, than by the weakneſs, with which ſhe gave implicitly into the repreſentations of lord Middleton. Be that as it will, it is certain that ſhe and even the miniſter and his emiſſaries were ſo extremely aſhamed of this diabolical romance, that they ſuffered lord Lovat to remain unmoleſted for ſome time afterwards. 1704.

The Scottiſh expedition, being now perfectly digeſted, was preſented to the moſt Chriſtian king by the marſhal de Coeuvre. His majeſty approved of it, and told the marſhal that, as he was determined immediately to carry it into execution, it was proper that he ſhould give it to the marquis de Torcy, to propoſe and get it paſſed in the privy council.

Upon this reply M. de Coeuvre, cardinal Gualterio and the other friends of lord Lovat felicitated him upon the ſucceſs of his undertaking. They told him, that he muſt be infallibly in a ſhort time one of the firſt of the Scottiſh nobility; ſince he would be called upon to head the inſurrecti-

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on, not only as a general officer to king James, but as a general officer in the army of France; and ſince every thing neceſſary for the ſucceſs of the expedition, land forces, a ſquadron of ſhips, money, arms and amunition, was already prepared, and nothing remained but the form, which was fixed for a very early day, of carrying it through the privy council.

Lord Lovat was extremely delighted to ſee his project, after ſo great dangers and ſo many croſs accidents, upon the point of being executed. He thanked theſe noblemen in the warmeſt terms, for their zeal and generous attention to the intereſts of of his king. He told them, that he had no longer any apprehenſions, but from the intrigues of lord Middleton; that nothing could hinder the project from having the completeſt ſucceſs, but the ſiniſter tranſactions of that nobleman, with the king, in England, and in Scotland.

It was not without reaſon that lord Lovat apprehended the black deſigns of this perfidious miniſter. Having learned how nearly the buſineſs was ripe for execution, the

the ſecretary, as his laſt reſource, acquired ſuch an aſcendant over the mind of the queen, as to induce her to refuſe to the king of France to iſſue the neceſſary commiſſions to her ſubjects. A few days after the moſt Chriſtian king waited upon her majeſty, to acquaint her with his reſolution, and to deſire her to hold her commiſſions in readineſs, to call upon her ſubjects to join his troops, as ſoon they ſhould diſembark upon the iſland. PART II. §. 2. 1704.

The queen, governed by lord Middleton, without having ſaid a word to cardinal Gualterio and the marquis de Torcy, who had laboured with ſo much zeal and attachment for the intereſts of her ſon, replied, that ſhe was perſuaded this project was calculated to ruin the loyal inhabitants of Scotland, and that ſhe could not therefore in conſcience comply with what his majeſty propoſed. Louis was aſtoniſhed, and, if I may dare to ſay it, exaſperated at this anſwer. But, as he is the prince in the world the moſt poliſhed in his manners, he diſſembled his real ſentiments, and only told the queen, that ſhe might then be aſſured that ſhe was at liberty to retain her commiſſions, till ſhe

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and her miniſters were as fully convinced of the excellence of the Scottiſh project, as he and his ſervants already were.

The day following the marquis de Torcy propoſed the Scottiſh project in the privy council. M. Philipeaux the chancellor, the duke de Beauvilliers, the count de Pontchartrain, and almoſt all the miniſters, made ſeparate ſpeeches, in order to demonſtrate the utility of the meaſure.

The king replied, "Meſſieurs, I am ſa-
"tisfied that the Scottiſh project would be
"of more utility to me than all my alli-
"ances; I am convinced, that a civil war
"in England and Scotland would at once
"diſſolve the league, that has been form-
"ed againſt me, and which ſubſiſts only
"by the money and exertions of that coun-
"try. But I am not at liberty to carry
"the project into execution. The queen
"of England, to my great ſurpriſe, has
"refuſed to iſſue orders to her ſubjects to
"join my troops. I have given my pro-
"tection to this princeſs, and granted her
"an aſylum in my dominions, and it would
"ill become me to compel her to a mea-
"ſure,

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"ſure, which ſhe believes inimical to "her intereſts. It is neceſſary there- "fore to defer this ſalutary project, till "the queen of England has opened her "eyes to the advantages with which it is "attended. I never deſigned to make a "conqueſt of Scotland; but on the con- "trary to ſuccour and ſupport the loyal "Scots, in their exertions for the reſtora- "tion of their ſovereign."

The whole council was equally confounded and offended with this aſtoniſhing refuſal on the part of the queen of England. The marquis de Torcy, who had hitherto employed much attention and ability upon the ſubject, was now ſo violently diſguſted, as to proteſt, that, unleſs by the orders of the king his maſter, he would never more concern himſelf with the affairs of this ſtupid and perfidious court, or with thoſe of the unfortunate queen, who ſeemed to employ all her power in ruining the proſpects of her ſon. M. de Torcy, ſaw with perfect clearneſs, all the conſequences that could have reſulted from this project, and the irreparable misfortune that the queen of England, by placing implicit confidence in

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her perfidious ſecretary, cauſed, not only to the affairs of her ſon, but alſo to the intereſts of France. From that time therefore he ſeemed to have conceived an averſion even to the hearing of the queen of England, or any of her concerns.

It is indeed certain, and no perſon of good ſenſe can deny it, that by this fatal refuſal, the effect of a headlong and unexampled weakneſs, the queen gave ſo deciſive a blow to the intereſts of the court of St. Germains, that neither ſhe nor all her friends will probably ever be able to recover ſo favourable an opportunity. King James, morally ſpeaking, muſt by this project have been infallibly reſtored. The Scottiſh nation were reſolved to hazard their lives in his favour. England was torn by the higheſt rage of contending factions. Queen Anne was in her heart a well-wiſher to the cauſe. France, at that time every where victorious and triumphant, was in a condition to have afforded him every kind of aſſiſtance. There was nothing, but the immediate interpoſition of heaven, the ſtrange imbecility of his mother, and the ignominious perfidy of the earl

earl of Middleton, that could at this time have prevented the reſtoration of king James to the throne of the three kingdoms; and of conſequence the advancement of the moſt Chriſtian king to the ſituation of undiſputed arbiter of Europe. PART II. §. 2. 1704.

Lord Lovat was impreſſed with the deepeſt deſpair at this termination of all his hopes, and all his labours. He inſtantly reſolved to return into Scotland without taking leave of the queen, or ever hereafter having the ſmalleſt concern in her affairs. With this determination he haſtened to wait upon cardinal Gualterio. His eminence had from the firſt treated lord Lovat with ſo much condeſcenſion, and had continued to entertain for him ſo untainted a friendſhip, that he had long been in the habit of taking no ſtep that regarded the two courts, without firſt communicating it to the cardinal. And here I muſt attempt a ſketch, though it will neceſſarily be very imperfect, of the various perfections of this great man.

Cardinal Gualterio was handſome and well made. He was the moſt affable and engaging

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engaging of the human race. His friends were always received by him with open arms, and a viſage full of complacency. A French nobleman juſtly obſerved to me, that his eminence had no kind of reſemblance to the reſt of his countrymen. The Italians commonly appear to carry their heart upon their lips, while in reality they are full of diſſimulation. Cardinal Gualterio had their frank and honeſt air, but at the ſame time was in reality one of the ſincereſt and moſt indefatigable friends in the univerſe.

Lord Lovat experienced in his own perſon the reality of this amiable quality. The cardinal lived with this nobleman for two years in all the habits of the moſt unreſtrained intercourſe; he ſerved him like a brother; he made all his beſt friends in the court of France common to lord Lovat. And though he was the nuncio of the pope, and well knew that lord Lovat was a proteſtant, he never ſpoke a word to him upon the ſubject of religion; though the author of the Memoirs of Scotland has the impudence to aſſert, that lord Lovat was reconciled to the church of Rome, in order to ingratiate

ingratiate himſelf with the cardinal. Little did this author know of the true character of cardinal Gualterio. This great man left to the preacher and the confeſſor the buſineſs of converting ſouls. The theatre, in which he employed all his talents and all his induſtry, was that of the affairs of ſtate. PART II. §. 2. 1704.

In the ſcience of politics he was conſummately ſkilful; and it may be ſaid of him without exaggeration, that he was one of the firſt and ableſt miniſters in the world. He had ſecret correſpondencies in all the conſiderable courts of Europe, and very frequently received from them letters entirely written in cypher. He had himſelf ſo great a facility of language, and ſuch a command of his attention, that I have ſeen him at the ſame time dictate to his three ſecretaries, and write with his own hand more than fifty letters in ſix hours.

His incomparable ability in all kinds of affairs, his mild and unaſſuming diſpoſition, and the openneſs and affability of his character drew upon him the ſpecial friendſhip and regard, not only of the moſt Chriſtian king,

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king, but of all his miniſters, and all the nobility of France to whom he was known. Indeed he ſeemed to be regarded by Louis the fourteenth and his ſervants, leſs as a foreign ambaſſador, than as a leading member of the French adminiſtration.

Lord Lovat having waited upon the cardinal, acquainted him with his intention to abandon the affairs of St. Germains, ſince the queen, contrary to her promiſe and her oath, had ruined all by this laſt fatal ſtroke, to pleaſe lord Middleton.

The cardinal replied, "My poor lord "Lovat, you are young and ardent; you "carry your heart too much upon your "lips; but nothing is more neceſſary, "than to diſſemble your feelings and your "reſentment, if you would ſucceed in "affairs of ſtate. Do you not ſee," continued he, "my poor lord, that I am oblig-"ed to diſſemble with certain people three "hundred and ſixty five days in the year? "And you cannot diſſemble for a ſingle "hour with the queen and lord Middle-"ton. Let me intreat you, my dear friend, "to follow a little my example. Culti-

"vate

" vate perſeverance and firmneſs in the " purſuit of difficult objects: you ſee I " am never diſheartened. In the mean time " you have ſeveral times recalled the queen " to her original purpoſes by your ſpirited " remonſtrances on the part of the loyal " Scots. I would have you once more " write to her majeſty, remonſtrate on the " extreme injury ſhe is doing to the affairs " of her ſon, by following the counſel of " thoſe, who are deſirous of defeating the " Scottiſh project for their private intereſt. " As ſoon as the queen has received this " letter," added the cardinal, " I will " wait upon her, that I may inforce " your repreſentations as far as is in my " power." PART II. §. 2. 1704.

Lord Lovat, agreably to the advice of the cardinal, wrote a letter to the queen, poſſibly ſomewhat more ſpirited than the cardinal deſired. It was in reality this fatal letter, that ſo incenſed the queen againſt him, that ſhe has not yet forgiven it, notwithſtanding the penitence the author has performed of thirty-two days in a dark and unwholeſome dungeon; of three years impriſonment in the caſtle of Angoulême;

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and of ſeven years impriſonment in the city of Saumur. This unfortunate letter therefore being the immediate cauſe of all the calamities that afterwards overtook lord Lovat, it is proper that the ſubſtance of it ſhould be related in this place.

Lord Lovat declared in this letter, that he was greatly mortified that he had ſo often expoſed his life, and ſacrificed his property, in bringing to perfection a project, which her majeſty, in contradiction to the moſt formal and poſitive promiſes, had overturned at one blow; and which would, in all human appearance, have ſeated king James upon the throne of his anceſtors. He obſerved, that every loyal ſubject in the Scottiſh nation would be as much afflicted at the unfortunate event as he was; and affirmed, that, while her majeſty implicitly followed the advice of the people who were at the head of the Engliſh parliament, Jeſus Chriſt would come in the clouds before the king her ſon would be reſtored. He concluded, that for his own part he would never more draw his ſword in the royal cauſe, ſo long as the regency was in her majeſty's hands; but that, when his king

ſhould

ſhould be major, or of an age to be at the head of his affairs, he would expoſe himſelf with his whole clan, to the laſt drop of their blood, for his ſervice. In the mean time, he ſhould always maintain the reſpect for her majeſty which was due to the mother of his ſovereign.

The queen put this letter immediately into the hands of lord Middleton, who declared, that it was full of high treaſon, and the moſt formal diſobedience; and that, if lord Lovat had written ſuch a letter to a queen, reigning in Scotland, his head muſt have paid the forfeit of his inſolence. Incited by theſe repreſentations, the queen took the letter in high reſentment, and immediately waited upon the king of France, intreating him, for his rebellion to commit lord Lovat to the Baſtile, and adding, that ſhe muſt otherwiſe be obliged entirely to withdraw herſelf from the world, that ſhe might no longer be expoſed to ſuch inſults on the part of her ſubjects.

Cardinal Gualterio in the mean time, in purſuance of his promiſe, having repaired to St.

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St. Germains, found the queen in all the exacerbations of the moſt furious rage againſt lord Lovat. He immediately engaged the cardinal de Noailles; the late duke de Noailles his brother, a great favourite of the king; and the marſhal de Coeuvre, to ſpeak to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty in favour of lord Lovat. Theſe noblemen undertook the cauſe, and expreſſed themſelves to the king with all poſſible ardour. The marſhal de Coeuvre, who had worked ſo long with lord Lovat, had the goodneſs to ſay upon this occaſion to the king his maſter, that the queen of England beſtowed an ill reward upon the zeal and fidelity that lord Lovat had diſplayed in the cauſe of her ſon; that he knew him for a moſt honourable man; and that, if his majeſty would conſent to accept his ſurety, he would anſwer, body for body, for his perſeverance in the intereſts of France, and his loyalty to the king of England. The king replied, that he was preciſely of the marſhal's opinion, and that M. de Coeuvre did him a great pleaſure, in confirming the thoughts he had always entertained of lord Lovat.

Scarcely,

Scarcely had this converſation paſſed, when the queen of England arrived, in order to requeſt the commitment of lord Lovat to the Baſtile. The king made no other reply, than by telling her, he was firmly perſuaded of the zeal and fidelity of that nobleman, and that in conſideration of this, her majeſty ought to pardon a failure of reſpect, which originated only in the thoughtleſſneſs of youth, and the fervency of his zeal for the king her ſon. The queen returned repeatedly to the charge, without being able to obtain for lord Lovat the puniſhment ſhe deſired.

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Some months after, cardinal Gualterio did lord Lovat the honour of obſerving to him, that his ſtory had the air of being a perfect romance; that he ought to be eternally grateful to the king of France; and that his majeſty had to his eminency's certain knowledge done more for him, than he had probably ever done for any peer of France, in reſiſting for ſo long a time, not only the intreaties, but even the tears of the queen of England, who demanded with the extremeſt earneſtneſs, his commitment to the Baſtile. This circumſtance gave lord Lovat

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ſo high an idea of the natural equity and juſtice of the king's diſpoſition, and excited in his boſom ſo lively a gratitude for his perſevering goodneſs, that he reſolved from that moment, let the conſequences be what they might, not to quit France without a complete and perfect juſtification of his conduct, or without the conſent of the moſt Chriſtian king.

Lord Middleton, perceiving that all his efforts were not ſufficient to ruin lord Lovat at the court of France, invented at this time a new calumny, which in the end overwhelmed him with the utmoſt confuſion. He ſaw that Mr. John Murray, the envoy of the court of France to the loyal Scots, was not yet returned; and he knew by his correſpondents that he had ſet out from Scotland four months before. Since in all this time he had not been ſo much as heard of, he concluded, according to all human appearance, that he was either loſt at ſea, or had periſhed amidſt the various dangers of his journey. This was the baſis he choſe for his impoſture. Supported by the evidence of his creature and that reprobate villain, James Murray, he informed

ed the court of France, that, however they might think proper to entertain a good opinion of lord Lovat, he could assure them, he had caused their envoy, Mr. John Murray, to be assassinated in Scotland, in order to prevent his report of the treasonable proceedings of lord Lovat in that country. PART II. §. 2. 1704.

This accusation was of so terrible a nature, that none of the friends of lord Lovat could persuade themselves to mention it to that nobleman. In the mean time Mr. John Murray did not return. Lord Lovat perceived a degree of coldness and reserve in the countenances of his friends, which he particularly remarked in cardinal Gualterio, and was extremely afflicted by it; this illustrious character having always lived with him upon the footing of a brother.

The aspersion of lord Middleton continued to gain credit. In the mean time the queen was incessant in her importunities with the king of France; and lord Lovat on his part delivered to the French administration memorials, conceived in terms of conside-

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rable aſperity, againſt the court of St. Germains. Tired out with the complaints that poured in upon him from every ſide, Louis lamented with ſome earneſtneſs to cardinal Gualterio and the marquis de Torcy, the two patrons of lord Lovat, the unpleaſant ſituation in which he was placed. Thus circumſtanced, theſe noblemen reſolved to ſend lord Lovat to Bourges, to reſide with two of their particular friends, the archbiſhop, who was ſon to the duke of Gêvre, a man of ability and merit, and much eſteemed at the courts of France and Rome; and M. de Roujeault, at that time intendant of Bourgés.

The cardinal at laſt intimated to lord Lovat, that the king and the marquis de Torcy wiſhed him to reſide at Bourges, till Mr. John Murray ſhould arrive in France, in order to quiet the mind of the queen of England. He added, that he might depend as much as ever upon the reſolution of the moſt Chriſtian king to execute the project, and upon his being called upon to conduct it. Lord Lovat replied, that he was ready to go wherever the king pleaſed, provided he had wherewith to ſubſiſt, and to pay his little

little debts at Paris; adding, that he was unwilling to leave that metropolis in a dishonourable manner, after having ſpent in it ſuch conſiderable ſums of his own money for the intereſts of his king, without having in his life touched a ſingle penny from the court of St. Germains. The cardinal anſwered, that what he deſired was reaſonable, and he would mention it to the marquis de Torcy. PART II. §. 2. 1704.

In a ſhort time after, his eminence acquainted lord Lovat, that the king had granted him for his ſubſiſtence at Bourges a hundred crowns * per month, which was the ordinary penſion of a major general, and was equal to four times as much at Bourges as at Paris; that the marquis d'Argenſon, lieutenant-general of the police, had orders to take an account of his debts, which his majeſty was determined to pay; as alſo to give him ſuch a ſum of money as was requiſite for his journey. Accordingly the marquis de Torcy ſome days after paid into lord Lovat's hands a

* 12l. 10s. or three thouſand ſix hundred livres per annum. This does not exactly coincide with p. 256.

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thouſand crowns † for his journey from Paris to Bourges, which was but fifty leagues, and which might be made at the expence of fifteen piſtoles *.

Lord Lovat, having received this money, and bought every thing neceſſary for him, prepared to ſet out. He went to receive the commands of cardinal Gualterio, and to know of him the day, in which it was proper he ſhould leave Paris.

In this interval Mr. John Murray arrived from Scotland, having been near five months in his journey. As he carried with him the written engagements of the loyal Scots to take arms for their king and for France, he was afraid of being taken in his journey, and was obliged to paſs from Scotland into Norway, from thence to Dantzic and Hamburgh, and ſo acroſs the whole German empire, with much fatigue, and great hazard of his life. The arrival of this gentleman agreably ſurprized the court of France, who began to believe that he had actually periſhed.

† 125l. * 13l. 2s. 6d.

In

In giving an account of his journey and his negociations to the king and the marquis de Torcy, Mr. Murray fully juſtified lord Lovat, and related a thouſand circumſtances much to his advantage. He made the ſame narrative to cardinal Gualterio, who, on account of his great friendſhip for lord Lovat, and zeal for the affairs of the king of England, was extremely delighted with it. His eminence had ſcarcely received this narration, when lord Lovat entered his apartment. PART II. §. 2. 1704.

As ſoon as he ſaw him, he leaped upon his neck, and embraced him with extraordinary marks of friendſhip, crying out, "My dear lord, you had no need of "being juſtified in my opinion, in the "opinion of the marquis de Torcy, or "even in that of the moſt Chriſtian king. "But Mr. John Murray is arrived moſt op- "portunely to confound and aſtoniſh your "enemies, who were baſe enough to ſug- "geſt that you had cauſed him to be aſſaſ- "ſinated in Scotland. He has already given "an account of himſelf to the king and the "marquis de Torcy, and has ſaid things a "hundred times more favourable of you

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" and your ſervices, than all the malice of " your enemies could induce you to advance " of yourſelf." The cardinal added, that he would himſelf conduct Mr. Murray to St. Germains, before it was poſſible for lord Lovat to ſee him, in order that he might repeat to the queen, in his preſence, all he had ſaid to the court of France of the fidelity and ſervices of lord Lovat, and then his eminence would intreat the queen to do juſtice to lord Lovat with the king of France.

Mr. John Murray went the next day with the cardinal to St. Germains, and made the ſame favourable report, that he had done the day before to the court of France, affirming, that, by his clan, the intermarriages of his family, and his perſonal credit, lord Lovat was the great ſupport of his majeſty's affairs in the north of Scotland. The queen was ſo much affected with Mr. Murray's repreſentations, that ſhe admitted, ſhe could no longer doubt of lord Lovat's loyalty; but added, ſhe could never forget his perſonal diſreſpect and inſolence: and theſe words ſhe repeated the next day to the king of France.

Cardinal

Cardinal Gualterio was highly pleaſed with what Mr. John Murray had reported to the two courts. He told lord Lovat that he muſt no longer think of going to Bourges; that on the contrary it behoved him to ſtay at court, and triumph over his enemies; and he would ſpeak for that purpoſe to the marquis de Torcy. Lord Lovat replied, he was ready to do every thing the court of France and his eminence ſhould think proper. PART II. §. 2. 1704.

In two days after this converſation the cardinal told lord Lovat, that, upon his repreſentations to M. de Torcy, the marquis obſerved, that it was true, Mr. John Murray having fully juſtified lord Lovat, it was no longer juſt that he ſhould go to Bourges; but that if he did not go, not only the queen of England, but poſſibly the king his maſter would reflect upon him: that the queen had renewed her charges of the ill treatment of lord Lovat at Marli, and had complained that he was ſtill at Paris, venting calumnies againſt her, and menacing to return into Scotland to ruin her affairs; to which the king had replied in a very cold manner, "Madam, it is a month ago ſince

"lord

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"lord Lovat was at Bourges, M. de Torcy "has told me so;" that the contrary would appear if lord Lovat remained at Paris, and might cause M. de Torcy considerable uneasiness.

Lord Lovat replied, that he would go not only to Bourges, but into Spain, rather than cause a moment's pain to the marquis de Torcy, who had always treated him with so much attention. He now took leave of cardinal Gualterio with the most pungent grief, at seeing himself upon the point of being separated from a man, who had distinguished him by so generous a friendship, and for whom he entertained so profound and tender a respect.

The cardinal embraced lord Lovat, intemating that he should not stay at Bourges above a month at the utmost, and protesting that at all times, and in all places, he should find in him a brother, rather than a friend. Lord Lovat penetrated with gratitude, could only answer the cardinal with his tears. And his emotion was not without reason; for from that time he has never seen, and according to all appearances never

never ſhall ſee again, this excellent noble- PART II. §. 2. 1704.
man, his patron, his ſupport, and his beſt and moſt intimate friend.

Lord Lovat ſet out next morning for Bourges, in oppoſition to the opinion of his brother, and of major Fraſer his couſin, who exerted their utmoſt efforts, to engage him to return into Scotland, or to repair to the court of Hanover. They enlarged upon the unſuitable reward and unworthy treatment he had received from the court of St. Germains. They obſerved, that his honour was more than vindicated in France, by the return of Mr. John Murray, and the juſtice that was done him by that gentleman. Lord Lovat however could not come to the reſolution of quitting France, without the conſent of the moſt Chriſtian king, and in contradiction to the ſentiments of cardinal Gualterio and the marquis de Torcy, after having experienced ſo much condeſcenſion from the king, and ſo much friendſhip from theſe noblemen.

Major Fraſer ſeemed overcome at this parting with his chief, and wept like a child.

It

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It ſeemed as if this brave lad foreſaw, that he ſhould never again behold the head of his family, and his relation, whom he ſo tenderly loved. In fact the poor major was afterwards killed at the ſiege of Lerida *, by the laſt muſket-ſhot that was fired at that place, after having given the moſt extraordinary proofs of his valour. He was univerſally regretted by the French and Iriſh officers who knew him, being eſteemed, not only for his gallant behaviour, but alſo as one of the beſt officers of foot in the army in which he ſerved. He bequeathed all of which he died poſſeſſed, and his arrears from the regiment, to lord Lovat, who however never received a farthing of it.

* 1707.

Major Fraſer contributed extremely to the preſervation of the city of Cremona to the French, in that ſurpriſing and almoſt miraculous action which covered the whole nation with immortal glory *. It was he who gave orders for breaking down the bridge of Cremona, over which prince Thomas of Vaudemont muſt neceſſarily paſs with a large body of cavalry, which, together with the forces that had already made themſelves maſters of the town, would

* 1702.

would infallibly have cut in pieces every Frenchman and Iriſhman in the place: ſuch was the account I received from the major, and aſſuredly he was not a man to varniſh his conduct with a deceitful luſtre. After having thus ſtopped the progreſs of the prince of Vaudemont, he aſſembled a body of Iriſh in a large baſtion on the ſide of the bridge, and cauſed the cannon of the baſtion to be pointed upon the cuiraſſiers of the emperor, who were drawn up at a ſmall diſtance. The ſhot had their entire effect. The enemy were thrown into diſorder, and the major, immediately cauſing his Iriſh to ſally from the baſtion, attacked the imperialiſts ſword in hand with ſo much ſpirit, that he cleared that quarter of the town of them in a moment. Such was his ſhare in the glorious day of Cremona.

He alſo very much diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the head of his regiment, in the various ſieges and battles gained by the French, under the command of the celebrated marſhal Catinat, and the gallant duke de Vendôme, in Savoy, in Piedmont and in Italy, during the two wars of 1688 and 1701. The juſtice I have done to his memory is richly

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richly due to a man, who, at that time a captain in the regiment of general Vahope, followed the fortunes of his king into France and into Ireland, and who continued to ſerve his native ſovereign, and to advance the intereſts of France with courage, diſtinction and fidelity, for twenty years, down to the moment that he was killed by a muſket-ſhot in the head, at the ſiege of Lerida, at the time the duke of Orleans made this celebrated conqueſt.

1704. I return to lord Lovat, whom we left travelling poſt to Bourges. Before his arrival M. de Roujeault, intendant of Bourges, received a letter from the marquis de Torcy, requeſting him to render to lord Lovat, who was about to ſpend ſome time in that city, every ſervice in his power; adding, that this nobleman was the head of an ancient and conſiderable family in Scotland, celebrated for loyalty to their prince, and attachment to the French nation. In a word, this great miniſter ſpoke in the moſt flattering manner of the family, the perſon and the merits of lord Lovat.

M. de Roujeault, being prepared by this letter, received lord Lovat in the moſt obliging

obliging manner, and procured for him every gratification he could wiſh in his preſent ſituation. From that time there commenced a moſt ſtrict and affectionate friendſhip between lord Lovat and this famous intendant, ſo that M. de Roujeault is to be conſidered as one of the beſt friends lord Lovat has in the world. This circumſtance induces me to ſay a word of the character of that gentleman, who is at the preſent moment intendant of the generality of Rouen.

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He was deſcended from a good family of the profeſſion of the law at Paris, and nearly related to marſhal Catinat. When very young he was promoted to the appointments of counſellor to the parliament of Paris and maſter of requeſts. Being known for a man of underſtanding and excellent ſenſe, he was raiſed to the office of intendant of the generality of Bourges. In this capacity, inſtead of oppreſſing and trampling upon the people, as other intendants do, he commenced his adminiſtration by relieving the poor peaſants, and thus putting his province in a better condition for ſerving their prince. From that

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that time he acquired, and with juſtice preſerved in all his intendancies, the appellation of father of the nobility, of the people, and the poor. From Bourges he was called to the intendancy of Maubeuge and of the army on that ſide. The province of Berry lamented his departure with tears, and are not yet conſoled for his loſs. At Maubeuge, he attracted in a particular degree the eſteem of the elector of Bavaria, the duke de Vendôme, and all the officers of the army. He was at this time the intimate friend of that great miniſter M. de Bergheic *, and he engaged in all the intrigues of war and ſtate on that ſide. He alſo entered, from the commencement of his friendſhip with lord Lovat, deeply into the affairs of England.

After the diſaſters of Flanders he quitted Maubeuge, to the great regret of the nobility, and the officers of the army. He was now appointed intendant of the extenſive generality of Poitou. It was there that I ſaw

* Superintendant of the Spaniſh revenues in Flanders, and the Catholic king's chief miniſter in that country.

him in 1709 not only ſave the province from a general revolt, but render corn in every part of it almoſt abundant, at a time in which the reſt of France ſuffered extremely, and the people died in the high roads and in the towns by a moſt terrible famine. PART II. §. 2.

The city of Rouen was to a proverb the rock, which gave occaſion to the ruin of the intendants of France. Two of theſe gentlemen had juſt been treated in a very uncivil manner within a ſhort time of each other. M. Deſmarêts * obſerved to his majeſty, that he did not know what intendant to ſend to theſe hot-headed and untractable Normans. The king replied, that he knew what would exactly fit them; all that was neceſſary was to ſend them M. de Roujeault, who would attach the Normans as warmly to his perſon, as he had done the other provincials among whom he had preſided.

When it was known that M. de Roujeault had orders to ſet out for Rouen, the

* Appointed comptroller-general of the finances in 1708 in the room of M. Chamillard, who had for ſome years united that and the war department in his own perſon.

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Poitevins were ſtruck with the deepeſt conſternation. They offered to increaſe the taxes of the government, if his majeſty would permit M. de Roujeault to remain among them. It was neceſſary however to conform himſelf to orders that did him the higheſt honour. I was at Poitiers when he ſet out from that place. Every thing wore the face of a murmur, almoſt of a general revolt through the whole province. Men and women, the old and the young, drowned in tears, exclaimed aloud, that they loſt their father, their protector.—For ſome days before his departure, whenever he left his houſe, he was in a manner overwhelmed with a croud of the lower people and the poor, weeping, and crying, that they would follow him wherever he went: they could not live without their father.

As he went through Paris in order to receive the orders of the king, his majeſty ſaid to him in the moſt gracious manner, "You have been loved and regretted at "Bourges, at Maubeuge, at Poitiers: the "ſame thing will happen to you at Rouen; "I am perſuaded of it. Be not offended "that I think proper to draw you a little "nearer to Verſailles." From Paris M. de Rou-

Roujeault went ſtrait to Rouen; and what is entirely without example, he is as much beloved in his preſent government as the moſt raſcally intendant was ever hated.

After this ſhort ſketch of his hiſtory, it is ſcarcely neceſſary to add, that he was a man of uncommon merit. His abilities were ſolid; he was much given to reflection; he was penetrating, collected, fertile in expedients, and capable of affairs, the greateſt and the moſt arduous. But what is peculiar to him beyond every man of his rank I ever knew, is, that while other intendants and people in places of truſt, not only in France, but over the whole face of the earth, have no other object than that of enriching their families, and elevating themſelves to the higheſt dignities, the purpoſe and policy of all the actions of M. de Roujeault, his ſingle ſtudy from morning to night, was to do good and contribute to the gratification of others. He could never ſay, like the celebrated Roman emperor, "I have loſt a day;" the day never paſſed over the head of M. de Roujeault, in which he did not contribute to the happineſs, or confer im-

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portant benefit upon ſome of his fellow-creatures: a circumſtance, which ought for ever to render his name immortal.

I have made this digreſſion upon the ſubject of M. de Roujeault, becauſe he was the ſupport, and the principal conſolation of lord Lovat, during the whole term of his impriſonment and exile. It was to him that he owed the extraordinary advantage of being always paid his penſion in money, while all France was paid in paper at a very great loſs; an indulgence, for which lord Lovat and his friends can never be ſufficiently grateful to this gentleman, and all thoſe who are connected with him.

1704. That nobleman ſpent his time in a very agreeable manner at his preſent reſidence. He received every week letters from cardinal Gualterio, and frequently from the marquis de Torcy, the marquis de Callieres, and his other friends. He had not been a month at Bourges when he was informed, by cardinal Gualterio and from other hands, of the great condeſcenſion which the moſt Chriſtian king had diſplayed in his favour. M. de Torcy being with the king at Marli,

his

his majeſty ſaid, "You know, *monſieur le* "*marquis*, that your friend lord Lovat has "but a ſlender proviſion in his reſidence "at Bourges. Send him four hundred "crowns* by way of addition to his pen- "ſion; and tell him, that I granted him "this without being ſolicited to it by any "body." The friends of lord Lovat feli- citated him upon this generous and moſt gracious action; and obſerved to him in the moſt agreable manner, that this grati- fication, under the circumſtances in which it was given, ought to be more pleaſing to him, than if his friends had obtained for him twenty times as much. PART II. § 2. 1704.

Lord Lovat was indeed ſo highly de- lighted with this act of condeſcenſion, that, cardinal Gualterio having done him the honour to ſend him immediate in- telligence of the birth of the firſt duke de Bretagne, he reſolved to ſpend four or five hundred piſtoles † of ready mo- ney, to celebrate this illuſtrious birth, and to diſplay his attachment to France in the moſt magnificent manner. As wine was very cheap in the province of

* 50l. † About 400l.

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Lord Lovat is ignorant whether the queen of England were irritated, with his having aſſumed the air of giving magnificent entertainments at a time, when her majeſty regarded him as diſgraced and in exile. It is certain that lord Middleton had conſtantly his ſpies upon him. He marked the favour of the court of France towards him, and he trembled with apprehenſion, that lord Lovat would remain at Bourges no longer, than till the period deſtined for the execution of the Scottiſh project. Once more therefore he called all his engines into play in order to bring this project to a final termination.

He repreſented to the queen, that lord Lovat was yet as formidable as ever; that he regarded all her diſpleaſure with contempt,

tempt, and intended ſhortly to paſs over into Scotland, where he expected to revenge his diſgrace by the ruin of the royal affairs in that kingdom. What had yet been done againſt him, he therefore obſerved, muſt go for nothing; it was abſolutely neceſſary to proceed, till he was reduced to a ſtate of impotence. By ſuch arguments the queen was prevailed upon to give the laſt fatal blow, which completed the ruin of lord Lovat, and the entire and irretrievable deſtruction of the affairs of her ſon, of which that nobleman was in the preſent caſe the principal and eſſential ſpring. After having experienced multiplied refuſals, ſhe at laſt obtained of the moſt Chriſtian king, an order for lord Lovat to be arreſted and ſent priſoner to one of the royal caſtles. The following was the account that lord Lovat received ſome months after from an intimate friend, who had undoubted knowledge of the tranſactions of the court of France at that time.

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The queen, tutored by lord Middleton, waited upon the king of France, carrying with her the laſt will of king

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James the ſecond, and expreſſed herſelf nearly in the following terms. "Monſieur, I am well aſſured, that lord Lovat "is reſolved to return immediately home, "and that he threatens to ruin the affairs "of my ſon in Scotland. It muſt be con-"feſſed, that he is very capable of carry-"ing this threat into execution, by the "power he poſſeſſes in that country, and "the perfect acquaintance he has with my "ſon's affairs. I am therefore at length "obliged to acquaint your majeſty, that "I have here brought the laſt will of my "royal huſband, by which I am appointed "to the regency during my ſon's minority. "If you finally refuſe to give orders for lord "Lovat's impriſonment, I muſt beg leave to "lay my commiſſion at the foot of your moſt "Chriſtian majeſty, and to retire into the "convent of Chaillot for the reſt of my "days. Your majeſty muſt anſwer before "God for the tremendous calamities which "I foreſee will enſue."

The king, though ſurpriſed at a lan- which he did not at all expect, replied with his uſual magnanimity; "Madam, "I am

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"I am as perfectly perſuaded at this day, "as I was at firſt, of the zeal and fidelity "of lord Lovat to your majeſty's intereſts. "Since however you are pleaſed to think "that your ſon's affairs will infallibly be "ruined, if he be not thrown into priſon, "I conſent. I will ſend him to one of my "caſtles, from which it will not be poſſi-"ble for him to eſcape." Next day his majeſty gave orders with regret to the marquis de Torcy to ſend lord Lovat to the caſtle of Angoulême; but to aſſure him of his royal protection, and that his majeſty would not forget him when the project of Scotland was ready for execution. Such was the manner in which the fatal meaſure of the impriſonment of lord Lovat was attained and adjuſted.

For himſelf, ignorant of what was tranſacting, he expected every day to be recalled. He was at dinner, on the fourth day of Auguſt, 1704, at the houſe of M. le Roy, *procureur de police*, at which M. de Roujeault had fixed him, as being the beſt houſe in Bourges. A grand prevôt, accompanied by his lieutenant and twenty-four archers, ſtole into the

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the drawing room, and ſeized lord Lovat, as if he had been an aſſaſſin, demanding from him his ſword in the king's name. Lord Lovat delivered it with great tranquility, ſaying, that he had never deſigned to draw it, but in the cauſe of his king or for the intereſts of France, as he had always hitherto done. They paid no attention to what he ſaid. They took him by the arms and the legs, and dragged him like a dog, from the ſaloon in which he had dined, to his apartment above ſtairs. Here the prevôt pillaged him in the moſt inhuman manner of his papers, of his purſe, his watches, his jewels, and in a word, of every thing he had. It was only by the greateſt menaces on the part of M. le Roy, a man of ability and merit, and the moſt incorruptible integrity, that this brute of a prevôt was induced to return to lord Lovat,—juſt what the raſcal pleaſed.

This ruffian, not contented with having maltreated lord Lovat in his own apartment, conducted him on foot at high noon through the middle of the town on a market day, hemmed in with

with the files of his archers, and a whole crowd of the populace, as if he had been conducting to the gallows. In this manner he was obliged to ſubmit to all the raillery of an inſolent and unciviliſed mob, while every reſpectable inhabitant of the city, in which he was honoured and eſteemed, wept over his misfortune, and the ignominy of his diſgrace. PART II. §. 2. 1704.

The villain of a prevôt was ſo obliging as to attend lord Lovat with his archers all the way to Angoulême. He had the luck to procure a curſed little chaiſe, where lord Lovat was in a manner buried alive under the unwieldy bulk of this enormous porpoiſe. Such a ſituation, united with the extreme heat of the ſeaſon, had ſo dreadful an effect, that his lordſhip was apprehenſive of dying upon his route. The illneſs however of this unfortunate nobleman, and the various unpleaſant circumſtances with which he was overwhelmed, were not able in the ſmalleſt degree to mollify the barbarous manners of this rude officer, who probably imagined, that a Britiſh lord was a kind of monſter in the ſhape of a man.

Lord

PART II. §. 2. 1704.

Lord Lovat is not able precisely to determine, whether it were through the generous recommendation of the humane prevôt, or rather through the malice of lord Middleton and his enemies at the court of St. Germains, that upon his arrival at the castle of Angoulême he was thrust into a horrible dungeon, which had been from time immemorial the unviolated habitation of coiners and murderers. It was a gentleman of this last class, whom the consideration of lord Lovat's friends obliged to give way to him in the present instance. His page, who was a young gentleman of the Fraser clan, and the only person permitted to witness his sufferings, conceived so extreme a horror at this dungeon, as to fall ill the first night, and to be for six months given over by the physicians.

Lord Lovat remained in this apartment, shut up for thirty-five days in perfect darkness, where he every moment expected death, and prepared to meet it with becoming fortitude. As an express prohibition had been given, to communicate any thing to him in writing, or even to utter a word in his presence; and as he was unable to

to conceive the reaſon of this barbarous treatment, conſcious of his entire innocence of all that his adverſaries had laid to his charge; all that the enemies of France have imputed of moſt horrible to the French government was continually paſſing through his mind. He liſtened with eagerneſs and anxiety to every noiſe, and, when his door creaked upon its hinges, he believed that it was the executioner come to put an end to his unfortunate days. PART II. §. 2. 1704.

SECT. III.

SINCE however lord Lovat perceived, that the laſt puniſhment continued to be delayed, he thought proper to addreſs himſelf to a grim jailoreſs, who came every day to throw him ſomething to eat, in the ſame ſilent and cautious manner in which you would feed a mad dog. He intreated her to have the goodneſs to give him paper, pen and ink, in order to write a letter to the miniſter. She replied, it was more than her life was worth to comply with his requeſt. Lord Lovat anſwered that he would give her the letter open, that ſhe might ſee he wrote nothing that could have PART II. §. 3. 1704.

PART II. §. 3. 1704.

have any ſiniſter conſequence to her, or could give offence to the court. He added, that to reward her civility, he would put his purſe in her hands that ſhe might take whatever ſhe thought proper. The clink of the louis d'or ſubdued the inexorable virtue of the fair jailoreſs. She furniſhed lord Lovat with the materials he wanted, and he immediately wrote to cardinal Gualterio, the marquis de Torcy, and the marchioneſs de la Frezeliere.

About twelve days after this tranſaction M. de Borés, lieutenant of the town and caſtle of Angoulême, and who has ever ſince treated lord Lovat as his ſon, came himſelf to liberate him from his dungeon. He conjured him to believe that he was in the utmoſt degree afflicted that a man of his rank had been thruſt into that horrible place; it was the fault of a ſtupid wretch of a captain, who commanded at that time in the caſtle, while he was at his country houſe, where he uſually ſpent a good part of his time. He added, that he had orders from the marquis de Torcy to grant him the entire liberty of the caſtle, at the ſame time taking his parole of honour in writing,

that he would not leave France without the consent of the king, which engagement he was to send to the marquis de Torcy. It was this interview, that first convinced lord Lovat, that the court of France had no share in producing the inhuman treatment he had received. PART II. §. 3. 1704.

His friends now began to correspond with him, and he received two days after a letter from the marchioness de la Frezeliere, inclosing a copy of the marquis de Torcy's to M. de Borés. The marchioness informed lord Lovat, that, when she went to solicit his release from the marquis de Torcy, this amiable minister appeared extremely surprised at the treatment lord Lovat had received, and declared that it was very much beside both the king's intention and his own; he had sent lord Lovat to the castle of Angoulême as a friend. This castle was in a manner an open prison, having an extensive park included within its walls, in which were the pleasantest walks of the city, where the better sort of inhabitants resorted every day to take the air, and whose company M. de Torcy conceived might be some alleviation

to

PART II. §. 3. 1704.

to lord Lovat under his unfortunate reſtraint.

Indeed the marquis's letter to the king's lieutenant affords an unanſwerable proof of what that nobleman had at firſt ſuſpected; that his barbarous treatment had originated ſolely in the enmity of the court of St. Germains. The miniſter wrote to the lieutenant of Angoulême, that he deſerved to be caſhiered for having in ſo inhuman a manner maltreated a man of lord Lovat's quality; that he did not deſerve to have a priſoner of rank committed to his charge; that lord Lovat ſhould no longer be the priſoner of of any king's lieutenant in France; but that he ſhould be ſolely the king's priſoner and his own, upon his parole of honour, not to go out of the country without the royal conſent. The marquis commanded M. de Borés to take this parole of lord Lovat in writing and ſend it to him, and in the mean time to give him the liberty of the caſtle.

The king's lieutenant immediately executed theſe orders; and lord Lovat lived, from that time, more agreably in the caſtle

of Angoulême, than he would have done, had he had the range of a province. He was much reſpected and beloved by the moſt conſiderable perſons in the city and neighbourhood, who united their endeavours to ſoften to him his adverſities. Indeed I have often heard him ſay, that, if there were a beautiful and enchanting priſon in the world, it was the caſtle of Angoulême. PART II. §. 3. 1704.

A ſhort time after, lord Lovat's correſpondents informed him, that the king was reſolved to execute the Scottiſh project; and for that purpoſe had ſent Mr. Hooke and Mr. John Murray into Scotland, in order to renew the engagements that had been entered into by the nobility of that country for the reſtoration of their prince. 1705.

This Mr. Hooke was an Engliſh gentleman, who had originally been deeply engaged in the intrigues of the duke of Monmouth, and, having been pardoned by the late king James, in order the more fully to demonſtrate his fidelity and gratitude, followed his majeſty in his retreat into France. He was there ſtruck out of the liſt of thoſe

PART II. §. 3. 1705.

perſons who received penſions from the court of St. Germains. Upon this event he determined to enter into the ſervice of the king of Sweden; but, in his journey for that purpoſe, he met at Hamburgh the count de Guiſcard, who was returning from an embaſſy to the court of Stockholm. The count had here ſeveral interviews with Mr. Hooke, and, finding him a man of ability, he prevailed upon him to abandon his deſign, and brought him back to France.

The count de Guiſcard here recommended him to his intimate friends, the marquis de Torcy, and the marquis de Callieres, as a man formed by nature for ripening negociations and managing intrigues of ſtate. Soon after, M. de Torcy employed him in a ſecret negociation in Holland, in which he perfectly ſucceeded, and exactly carried into execution the deſigns of his employer. Upon his return the miniſter obtained for him a penſion of five hundred francs * per month, and a brevet of ſecond colonel in the Swediſh regiment of count Sparre.

* 20 l.

When

When lord Lovat, in conjunction with the marquis de Callieres, digeſted the project of the Scottiſh inſurrection, the marquis mentioned to him Mr. Hooke, as his intimate friend, and begged lord Lovat to permit him to introduce that gentleman into the Scottiſh ſecrets, as a man very capable of rendering eſſential ſervice to the project. Lord Lovat, who had an infinite attachment and reſpect for the marquis de Callieres, his generous friend, told him, that he had not the honour to know Mr. Hooke, and that he was by no means partial to the idea of admitting an Engliſhman into a Scottiſh project; notwithſtanding which he would receive with pleaſure a man who had the happineſs to be his friend, and whom the marquis knew to be faithful to the cauſe of the king of England, and the intereſts of France. Mr. Hooke immediately began to take his ſhare in digeſting the Scottiſh affairs; and from this period commenced a moſt intimate friendſhip, and cordial union between him and lord Lovat. Mr. Hooke preſently diſcovered, and from his natural penetration and long experience ſaw further than any body, into the impoſtures and imbecility of the court of St. Germains. PART II. §. 3. 1705.

PART II. §. 3. 1705

This gentleman was afterwards promoted to the rank of a brigadier in the French ſervice. He had the reputation of ſome diſtinguiſhed actions performed by him in Flanders; and to do him juſtice it muſt be confeſſed, that Mr. Hooke was a man of unqueſtionable courage, a penetrating genius, a clear underſtanding, ſagacious, judicious, and capable of moulding to his purpoſe the moſt inauſpicious events, whether in affairs of ſtate, or the tranſactions of war. He was extremely ſhort-ſighted, but his uncommon gallantry excellently ſupplied this defect upon all neceſſary occaſions.

I have ſpoken thus at large of this gentleman, becauſe he was the principal mover in conducting, in the kingdom of Scotland, the affairs of the unfortunate project, which ſo completely miſcarried in the year 1708. He paſſed backward and forward ſeveral times in order to prepare the minds of the Scottiſh nation for the execution of the buſineſs. He had a conſiderable intercourſe with the earl of Errol, earl Mariſhal, lord Athol, lord Stormont, and all the nobility of the lowlands who were loyal to king James. In the laſt place, a few months before the French fleet, deſtined for

for this enterprise, sailed from Dunkirk, Mr. Hooke made a tour of all Scotland, not excepting the most inaccessible mountains and remotest islands. He concerted measures with the lairds of the highland clans for an universal rising, as soon as the French army should arrive in the vicinity of Edinburgh. I am indeed persuaded, that this unfortunate project did not miscarry in the execution by any error or neglect of Mr. Hooke. Had his counsels been uniformly followed, I am fully satisfied, that the king of England would have been long ago restored to his throne.

PART II. §. 3. 1705.

I resume the letters of lord Lovat's correspondents, acquainting him with the progress of the affairs of the Scottish project. They informed him, that lord Middleton had infused the largest hopes into the court of France, from the favourable dispositions of the duke of Hamilton, lord Athol, and many other noblemen of the lowlands of Scotland. He affirmed, that they would rise in arms as soon as a French fleet should appear upon the coast; and that they had concerted sig-

PART II. §. 3. 1705. nals, which they would make in ſuch places as were proper for the debarkation of king James and his troops.

Lord Lovat however knew by experience the unbounded avarice of the duke of Hamilton, which would infallibly prevent him, as it had hitherto done, from running the ſmalleſt riſk for the royal cauſe. He was perfectly acquainted with the watry ſoul, the ingrained impoſture, and the ſteady falſhood of lord Athol. Upon theſe grounds he wrote his ſentiments in a very explicit manner to the marquis de Torcy, and did not fail to predict to this miniſter, with the moſt literal exactneſs, every thing that happened in the execution of this unfortunate project.

Such was the only crime that lord Lovat committed againſt the ſtate during his reſidence at Angoulême. Unleſs we ſhould be diſpoſed to qualify with that title the continual offers he made for the ſervice of his native ſovereign, in ſpite of the frowns 1706. and prejudice of the queen. Or unleſs we ſhould quarrel with the arreſt that was made by his orders, at the caſtle of Angoulême,

goulême, of an Iriſh prieſt of the name of O'Daly, whom the enemies of lord Lovat had ſent to ſurpriſe and betray him, diſguiſed in the uniform of a captain of the regiment of the duke of Berwick, with a gold-laced coat and a feather in his hat. PART II. §. 3. 1706.

This emiſſary, having firſt deſired a private interview with lord Lovat, and opening himſelf in a very cautious manner, informed that nobleman, that he was gentleman of the bedchamber to the duke of Modena, a prince, very deeply engaged in the intereſts of the emperor; that his maſter had ſent him into France to execute ſome ſecret projects of the emperor and queen Anne; and that he expected in a ſhort time to receive a hundred thouſand crowns* at Bourdeaux, in order to be diſtributed in the Cevennes, and among the other French religionaries. He added, that, if lord Lovat would conſent to eſcape out of priſon and accompany him in his return, he would engage his maſter the duke of Modena to interfere with the emperor, to obtain his pardon from queen Anne, and his reinſtatement in all the property and eſtates,

* 12,500l.

PART II. §. 3. 1706.

which he had ſo idly loſt in endeavouring to ſerve the moſt ungrateful and ſtupid court in the univerſe. Captain Macartney (this was his ſtyle) promiſed, that he would in that caſe tranſmit to him from Bourdeaux all the money he ſhould want till his complete reinſtatement.

The wretch however preſently perceived, that lord Lovat would hear nothing againſt the queen at St. Germains, and gave little attention to the ſcheme he propoſed for his eſcape, and his paſſage into England. Upon this he began to ſpeak in the moſt diſreſpectful and inſolent terms of the moſt Chriſtian king. Lord Lovat, unaccuſtomed to bear any injurious expreſſions againſt a prince, to whom he was indebted both for life and ſubſiſtence, and immediately ſuſpecting, that the villain was either a ſpy employed by the enemies of France, or an emiſſary on the part of his enemies at the court of St. Germains, cauſed him to be arreſted by the commandant of the caſtle, who happened to be the very perſon, to whom lord Lovat had been indebted for his very rough treatment on his arrival at the caſtle of Angoulême.

When

While the captain disarmed him, this impostor endeavoured to swallow a paper, which the commandant wrenched out of his mouth, torn through the middle. This paper contained a false route, which the villain had employed under the name of captain Macartney, and which was enough to have hanged him, forgeries of this kind being made capital in France. They now proceeded to examine the impostor's portmanteau; the contents of which were chiefly such things as a priest usually carries about with him, and being shown to the prisoner, he confessed himself to be a priest.

His brother, a cordelier who resided at Limoges, came to see him some days after, and lamented that our adventurer, imagining himself to be rendering the most important services to his king, her majesty, and the interests of religion, had suffered himself to be enticed by the enemies of lord Lovat into so dangerous and unjustifiable a proceeding. He was persuaded however that the queen, who knew the integrity of his intentions, would relieve him from his present disgrace. The marquis

PART II. §. 3. 1706.

quis de Torcy, as ſoon as he had received an account of the tranſaction, returned lord Lovat his thanks for the zeal and loyalty that had actuated him in the affair.

In the mean time this adventure, which proved the fidelity of lord Lovat to her majeſty and the moſt Chriſtian king, and which was calculated in its own nature to have given him the moſt unimpeachable claim to the reſtoration of his liberty, was deſtined only to accumulate his misfortunes. He was afterwards aſſured, that the queen turned this unequivocal proof of his loyalty to his prejudice. She gave the court of France to underſtand, that this prieſt had written her a letter, by which it appeared, that it had really been lord Lovat who had employed the moſt diſhonourable expreſſions reſpecting her and lord Middleton, and who had endeavoured to eſcape into England. Upon her repreſentation the wretch was ſet at liberty unpuniſhed, though he was taken with a falſe route in his pocket.

The marquis de Torcy may well recollect the circumſtances of this ſtory. It made a conſidera-

conſiderable noiſe at Angoulême, and gained lord Lovat much credit among the inhabitants, at the ſame time that it was extremely agreable to his friends. Such was all the advantage that he ever reaped from this diſtinguiſhed inſtance of his loyalty and zeal. PART II. §. 2. 1706.

He had now been two years in priſon. The marquis de la Frezeliere was of all lord Lovat's advocates the moſt mortified at this circumſtance; and he reſolved to do every thing in his power to put an end to ſo diſgraceful a reſtraint. It is neceſſary in this place, to give ſome account of the origin of the marquis's extreme attachment to lord Lovat, as well as to preſent the reader with an idea of a perſon, who will make ſo conſiderable a figure in the future part of this hiſtory.

The houſe of Frezel or Frezeau de la Frezeliere, is one of the moſt ancient houſes in France. It aſcends by uninterrupted filiation, and without any unequal alliance, to the year 1030. It is able to eſtabliſh by a regular proof ſixty-four quarterings in its armorial bearings, and all noble. It has titles of ſeven hundred years ſtanding in the abbey

PART II. §. 3.

abbey of Nôtre Dame de Noyers in Touraine. And it is certain, that, beſide theſe circumſtances of inherent dignity, the houſe de la Frezeliere is one of the beſt allied in the kingdom. It numbers among its anceſtors on the female ſide daughters of the families de Montmorenci, de Rieux, de Rohan, de Bretagne, de la Savonniere, de la Tremouille, de la Grandiere, and de St. Germains. Through the houſes de Montmorenci, de Rieux, de Rohan, and de la Tremouille, to which the marquis de la Frezeliere is nearly allied, he can trace his filiation through all the French monarchs, up to Charlemagne, king of France, and emperor of the Weſt. Down again through the various branches of the illuſtrious houſe of France M. de la Frezeliere may without impropriety aſſert his alliance to all the royal houſes, and almoſt all the principal nobility of Europe.

It is demonſtrated by various hiſtorians, by the tradition of the two families, and from letters written from time to time from one to the other, that the houſe of Frezel or Frezeau de la Frezeliere in France, and the houſe of Frezel or Fraſer in Scotland, were

were of the ſame origin, and derived from the ſame blood. The marquis de la Frezeliere, the head and repreſentative of the Frezels or Frezeaus in France, and lord Lovat, the repreſentative of the Frezels or Fraſers in the north and the highlands of Scotland, having happily encountered each other at Paris, in the ſecond journey that lord Lovat made to France for the ſervice of his king *, were therefore both of them highly gratified with the opportunity that offered itſelf, of renewing their alliance, and declaring their affinity, in a common and authentic act of recognition, drawn up for that purpoſe. PART II. §. 3.

* 1702.

This record was executed on the one part by the marquis de la Frezeliere himſelf, by the duke de Luxembourg, the duke de Châtillon, and the prince de Tingrie, the three worthy and illuſtrious children of the late marſhal de Luxembourg Montmorenci, whoſe heroic exploits are not leſs glorious and celebrated, than his deſcent is ancient and auguſt. Several other lords of the houſe of Montmorenci, the marquis de Rieux, and many noblemen related by blood and marriage to M. de la Frezeliere, joined

PART II. §. 3. joined with the marquis in affixing their ſignatures to this act of recognition. On the other part it was executed by Simon lord Lovat, Mr. John Fraſer his brother, and Mr. George Henry Fraſer, major of the Iriſh regiment of Bourke in the French ſervice, for themſelves, in the name of their whole family in Scotland.

By this deed the kindred of the two houſes of the Frezels or Frafers is placed out of all poſſible doubt. Accordingly from the moment in which it was executed the marquis de la Frezeliere regarded lord Lovat rather as his brother and his child, than as his remote relation; and had his re-eſtabliſhment in Scotland nearer his heart than his own elevation in France.

The houſe de la Frezeliere has always followed the profeſſion of war; and has ſerved its king and the ſtate with a ſingular valour, which has ſucceſſively drawn upon them marks of eſteem and diſtinction from their ſovereigns. Many marquiſes de la Frezeliere have been decorated with the order of St. Michael and of the Holy Ghoſt. The marquis de la Frezeliere, who renewed

renewed his kindred with lord Lovat by the above act of recognition, was the ſixth lieutenant-general in the French ſervice in lineal deſcent, almoſt all of them having been governors of towns or provinces. PART II. §. 3.

If the father of the marquis de la Frezeliere, who was one of the oldeſt lieutenant-generals in the French ſervice, equally celebrated for his bravery and military ſkill, had lived three months longer than he did, as he was much loved and eſteemed by the king, he would have been the firſt upon the liſt of marſhals of France in the great promotion that was made in 1702. And it is certain, that, if the marquis de la Frezeliere himſelf had lived to the age of fifty years, he would have illuſtrated the antiquity and honours of his houſe, by obtaining the firſt dignities of the ſword, the duchy and the peerage.

He was an eagle in the concerns of war. His greateſt enemies, who loved not his authoritative manners, his hauteur and his rapid advancement, were however forced to acknowledge, that, in regard of the ſcience

PART II. §. 3.

of artillery and tactical invention, which were particularly his forte, as well as of campaign war, the marquis de la Frezeliere was one of the moſt ſkilful and beſt informed officers of his age in Europe.

Marſhal de Boufflers informed the king particularly of the actions performed by the marquis, and the brilliant reputation he acquired at the ſiege of Liſle *, and the battle of Malplaquet *. His majeſty declared publicly, upon more than one occaſion, that the marquis de la Frezeliere appeared at ſo early an age to be the true ſon of his father, and would infallibly arrive at the firſt degree of military excellence.

* 1708.

* 1709.

1707. M. de la Frezeliere, upon his return from the preſent campaign, haſtened to ſolicit the court of France in behalf of lord Lovat. He was anſwered, that the court was as ſorry as he could be, to ſee lord Lovat in cuſtody; but that the king was obliged to give this ſatisfaction to the queen of England, who had abſolutely determined to abandon the affairs of her ſon, and totally to retire from the world, if ſhe

had not obtained the punishment of that nobleman. It was added, that, provided the queen would consent to his release, the king and his ministers would be extremely happy, since they wished for nothing more ardently than to see him at the head of the Scottish project, of which he had been the original author; that therefore M. de la Frezeliere had nothing to do, but to apply to the court of St. Germains, if he would obtain the liberty of lord Lovat, persuaded that the court of France would yield its concurrence. PART II. §. 3. 1707.

The marquis, having received this favourable answer, hastened to St. Germains. He represented to the queen, that, as bearing the same name, and being derived from the same stock with lord Lovat, he could not see him languish in prison without intreating her majesty, either to set him at liberty, or to order his trial: if he were criminal, he would be the first to condemn him; but if he were innocent, it was a most inauspicious cruelty, thus to oppress and persecute him without reason. He added, that, if her majesty refused him this request, he should be obliged, as the relation of lord Lovat, to throw himself at the feet of his king, to

PART II. §. 3. 1707.

demand that from his moſt Chriſtian majeſty which he had in vain intreated from her.

The queen was extremely ſorry to find herſelf aſſailed by a man of ſo haughty and enterpriſing a character, and ſo much eſteemed at the court of France. She demanded a day to conſider of his requeſt. On the one hand, ſhe ſaw herſelf urged by the untainted loyalty of lord Lovat, which, after all the calumnies of lord Middleton and James Murray, ſhe had been obliged to acknowledge to the French king and his miniſters. On the other, ſhe was ſtill more ſtrongly urged by the deſire with which ſhe was animated of revenging herſelf of lord Lovat for the pretended diſreſpect and inſolence with which he had treated her. Thus circumſtanced, her majeſty thought proper to give her anſwer to the marquis de la Frezeliere the next day in writing, ſigned with her own hand, and counterſigned by lord Caryl one of her principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

In this anſwer the queen declared, that ſhe had nothing to advance againſt the fidelity of lord Lovat, that ſhe was equally ſatisfied

PART II. §. 3. 1707.

ſatisfied of his zeal and of his ſervices, that nevertheleſs ſome political reaſons reſpecting Scotland, compelled her majeſty to detain him ſome time longer in the caſtle of Angoulême; that, if he had patience, he ſhould ſpeedily be received into favour, and that then the juſtice done him ſhould be as ſignal, as the prejudices and partiality of his enemies had been notorious. This written anſwer is at this day in the hands of the marchioneſs de la Frezeliere, among the other important papers of the late marquis her huſband. And lord Lovat has an authentic copy in the marquis's hand, who triumphed in it exceedingly.

He carried it to the marquis de Torcy, and ſhewed it to all lord Lovat's friends in the French court, who were happy to find the queen obliged to acknowledge under her hand the loyalty and ſervices of lord Lovat, after his having been for two years calumniated and maltreated by the court of St. Germains.

At this incident the marquis de Torcy intreated M. de la Frezeliere to write to lord Lovat to take courage; that the king

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was as resolute as ever to put in execution the Scottish project, that he had the same good opinion of lord Lovat, and that he was determined to bestow upon him the share he deserved in a scheme, that had originated with him; that for this purpose the king, without communicating his purpose to the court of St. Germains, would send him his orders to quit the castle of Angoulême, and to come down to the coast, as soon as the expedition should be ready to be executed.

Accordingly, a few months after, the marquis de la Frezeliere obtained an order, signed by the most Christian king, and counterſigned by the marquis de Torcy, who signs short "Colbert". By this order the king permits lord Lovat to quit the castle of Angoulême, and to repair to the waters of Bourbon or Pougues, for the restoration of his health. Four days after he received a second order, by which his majesty commands lord Lovat, after the restoration of his health by the waters of Bourbon or Pougues, to repair to his town of Saumur, till further orders. At the

ſame time he was permitted to take with him the chevalier Frezel of Lovat, his brother. Lord Lovat ſtill preſerves theſe orders, ſigned as above, ſealed with the royal ſeal, and dated, one on the ſecond of Auguſt 1707, the other on the fourteenth of the ſame month. PART II. §. 3. 1707.

It is uncommon, and perhaps unexampled, that a ſtate priſoner ſhould receive an order, ſigned by the king and his miniſter, and addreſſed to himſelf, either to leave his priſon for the reſtoration of his health, or to go and reſide, in a manner in garriſon, in a city which is by its ſituation one of the moſt agreable in the kingdom. But theſe orders were diſtinguiſhing marks of the ſentiments of the moſt Chriſtian king and his miniſter towards lord Lovat, whom they ſeemed to regard, more as a general officer in the French ſervice, than as a priſoner, accuſed of crimes againſt the ſtate.

I will here aſſign the reaſon, that occaſioned the brother of lord Lovat's being mentioned in the king's orders to that nobleman. When lord Lovat was arreſted at

PART II. §. 3. 1707. Bourges, his brother, who had been placed by him with a doctor of the civil law, in order to learn the French language and the profeſſion of a civilian, was arreſted at the ſame moment. The officers, apparently gained by the enemies of lord Lovat, would not ſo much as allow this young man, in ſpite of his tears, to ſee his brother, or to take leave of him, at a time that the prevôt carried him off like a pirate, and treated him like a banditti in his route to Angoulême.

Lord Lovat was touched with the moſt heart-felt concern at leaving his brother behind him, like a criminal, in the hands of theſe low-bred knaves, when he was in reality young, innocent and inexperienced, and had never had the ſmalleſt concern in any affair of ſtate. Regardleſs however of his innocence, he was attended by this kind of followers, till the interference of M. de Roujeault, intendant of Bourges, who not only reſtored him to his liberty, but obtained, from the generoſity of the marquis de Torcy a penſion from the government, fixed on his perſon ſo long as he reſided in France. It was not however till

two

two years and ten months after this, that lord Lovat obtained as a particular favour from M. de Torcy, permiſſion for his brother to come and reſide with him at Angoulême. The chevalier Fraſer had now reſided two months at that place, when this nobleman received orders to quit Angoulême and repair to Saumur, in which the chevalier was of courſe comprehended. PART II. §. 3. 1707.

Behold then lord Lovat diſmiſſed from his priſon with a degree of glory, reſpectability and triumph; the queen of England confeſſing his fidelity and ſervices in ſpite of the malice of his enemies; and the king of France ſending him his orders to approach the coaſt, in order to his taking a ſhare in the project of Scotland. During the three years that he was impriſoned, in ſpite of the dungeon into which he was thruſt, and in ſpite of his ſufferings, the malice of his enemies dares not aſſert, that he wrote a word, or received a line from any individual, relation or ſtranger, in England, Scotland, or Ireland. It ſeems to me, that he could not have exhibited a more ſtriking proof of his ſubmiſſion and

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inviolable attachment to his king and to France.

But before we quit Angoulême, it is proper that I ſhould relate an incident of the blackeſt and moſt ſhameful nature, illuſtrative of the malice of lord Middleton. Lord Lovat * had reſided only a few months in the caſtle of Angoulême, when he received advice from one of his intimate friends in the French court, that lord Middleton had influenced the queen, to ſpeak to the moſt Chriſtian king to take away his annuity. The queen obſerved to his majeſty, that the penſion, which he was pleaſed to beſtow upon lord Lovat, amounting to four thouſand francs ‡, was the means of diſcouraging her ſubjects, and particularly the loyal nobility reſiding at St. Germains; that they complained, that they were particularly unhappy, that their penſions amounted to no more than nine hundred francs per annum †, a ſum, ſo extremely inadequate to the annuity of lord Lovat, although he were actually impriſoned, and ſuſpected of diſloyalty and high treaſon. The queen therefore in-

* 1704.

‡ 166l. 13s. 4d. † 37l. 10s.

treated

treated of Louis, to take away this ſubject of mortification, and to reduce lord Lovat to the regular priſoner's allowance, which is twenty ſous per day* to the meaneſt peaſant who is arreſted by order of the king of France. PART II. §. 3.

Lord Lovat's friend adviſed him, that the king replied in theſe words: "The nine "hundred francs, madam, that you give to "your Britiſh nobility at St. Germains, "are douceurs that you are pleaſed to ex- "tend to them out of the ſix hundred "thouſand francs†, which I allow you "every year to diſpoſe of as you think pro- "per. But the four thouſand francs which "I give lord Lovat are not deducted from "your ſix hundred thouſand francs: they "are paid out of my treaſury, of which it "is right that I ſhould diſpoſe as I pleaſe. "They are indeed leſs than what I have "promiſed him, and leſs than his merits."

The queen, mortified at this very generous and dignified anſwer, never opened her mouth a ſecond time upon the ſubject. Lord Lovat held his penſion, which was regularly

* Eight-pence. † 25,000l.

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gularly paid him for eleven years during his impriſonment and exile, up to the very moment that he left the kingdom of France.

It muſt however be confeſſed, that no man ever puſhed the ſpirit of hatred and revenge, further than lord Middleton did in this inſtance. He was not contented with having ruined the family, the clan, the property, and, as far as it was in his power, the reputation and good name of lord Lovat. He was not contented with having thruſt his perſon into a dungeon, and held him impriſoned for three years without the ſmalleſt crime. He added to theſe injuries the further exertion, of endeavouring to deprive him of daily bread, and to cauſe him to die of pure hunger, in his preſent humiliating and cruel ſituation. Surely we muſt be a little ſurpriſed, that the queen could ſtoop to become the inſtrument of this laſt inſtance of his malice. She well knew, that lord Lovat had expended very large ſums in her ſervice without ever having received a farthing in return.

In reality, beſide the rents of the eſtates of which lord Lovat retained the poſſeſſion,

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sion, he was obliged at two several times to call upon his clan for a general contribution, after the manner of his country, for his journey into France: and the last time his poor tenants gave him the half of their little income, which reduced them to considerable distress, and of which lord Lovat, who had the tendereſt attachment to his clan, has always entertained the extremest regret. In the mean time neither lord Lovat's elder brother, who contributed his whole estate to the support of lord Dundee and his forces in the north, nor himself, who continually expended large sums in the service of his king, ever received a penny, either from the late king James, or from the queen regent, or from any person on the part of the court of St. Germains.

Lord Lovat arrived at the city of Saumur in the month of October 1707, having spent some time upon his journey at the very agreeable seat of the marquis de la Frezeliere, which is nine leagues from Saumur, and at which the reception he met, was such as might have been expected, if he had been master of the house. It was to give him this pleasure, and in order that he 1707.

PART II. §. 3. 1707. he might repair as often as he pleaſed to the ſeat of the marquis, that that nobleman obtained the city of Saumur for his reſidence in preference to any other place, the court of France having left that circumſtance to the marquis's choice.

1708. Lord Lovat had not long reſided at Saumur, before he received frequent letters from M. de la Frezeliere, informing him, that the court of France was as much determined as ever upon the Scottiſh project, and was preparing every thing for its immediate execution. In the mean time his intimate friends at the courts of France and St. Germains, wrote him regular accounts of all that Mr. Hooke and Mr. John Murray had done in Scotland, and of the magnificent promiſes with which they were charged to the two courts, on the part of the duke of Hamilton and lord Athol.

Lord Lovat thought himſelf obliged by this circumſtance to write repeatedly from Saumur to the marquis de Torcy, ſtating his real ſentiments reſpecting the Scottiſh project. Only a ſhort time elapſed before he appeared too true a prophet. Indeed the very

very principles from which he deduced its failure, were the circumſtances, that in reality proved its ignominious overthrow and final deſtruction. He knew full well the timidity, the hypocriſy, the tergiverſation of lord Middleton. He knew that the duke of Hamilton and lord Athol, in whom ſo much confidence was injudiciouſly placed, had never appeared favourable to the intereſts of the king, but with a view of playing upon the fears of the reigning government, in order to ſwell their penſions and accumulate their civil employments.

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On a ſudden however it was generally publiſhed at the court and at Paris, that king James was upon the point of ſetting out for his dominions. The marquis de la Frezeliere was at that time at Paris, and perceived with regret that lord Lovat was not thought of in this expedition. He haſtened immediately to wait upon the exiled king, to whom he was well known; and the interview took place preciſely two days before his majeſty ſet out from St. Germains to Dunkirk.

The

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The marquis, having wiſhed the king a happy voyage and ſucceſs, intreated him in a very earneſt manner, to permit lord Lovat to attend and hazard his life with him in the execution of an enterpriſe, the firſt idea of which had originated from his lordſhip. The king replied, that it was painful to him to think, that he ſhould refuſe the firſt favour the marquis de la Frezeliere had ever demanded of him; but that he was ſo far from being ready to permit lord Lovat to accompany him in the expedition, that, if he were not already in priſon, it ſhould be his firſt requeſt to the king of France to throw him into one.

The marquis replied, that the king's deciſion gave him extreme pain, but that he would ſtill take the liberty to intreat him, ſince he did not think proper to employ lord Lovat, that he would at leaſt have the humanity to re-eſtabliſh him in his property and eſtates, which he had loſt for his ſervice. "Of that," ſaid the king, "I will "think when I am in Scotland, and will "do what ſhall ſeem moſt conducive to my "intereſts."

Mr.

Mr. Gordon O'Neil accompanied the marquis de la Frezeliere, in order to join with him in ſoliciting the king of England in favour of lord Lovat. This gentleman was the head and repreſentative of the illuſtrious houſe of O'Neil in the kingdom of Ireland. He was a man of honour and probity, who had loſt his eſtate, and ſhed his blood for the king his maſter. The Iriſh however in general, as appears by the terrible complaints and reiterated remonſtrances which they preſented as a body to the king and queen, were extremely ill treated by the court of St. Germains; and Mr. O'Neil partook in the ingratitude that was extended to his countrymen. PART II. §. 3. 1708.

Mr. Gordon O'Neil, commonly called prince O'Neil, was couſin-german to the preſent duke of Gordon, and on that account remotely related to lord Lovat. A marriage had been propoſed, ſoon after lord Lovat's arrival in France, between this nobleman and mademoiſelle O'Neil, daughter to this gallant veteran. From that time Mr. O'Neil acted the part of a faithful, an intimate, and a ſpirited friend to lord Lovat.

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This gentleman, as well as the marquis de la Frezeliere, wrote lord Lovat that very day from St. Germains the words of the king's refuſal. They united to conjure him to ſet out immediately for his own country; to think no longer but of reſtoring the proſperity of his family and clan; not of deſtroying himſelf as he had done, by a headlong zeal, for a court ſo unjuſt, ſo ungrateful and ſo barbarous. When lord Lovat read theſe letters he was diſtracted. He worked himſelf up to a reſolution of ſetting out without a moment's delay, of endeavouring at all adventures to gain the coaſt of Scotland, and of convincing the king, at the head of his clan, by dear bought experience, how much he miſtook his true intereſt, when he refuſed his ſervice and trampled upon his conſcious integrity.

The ſame courier however brought him a ſecond letter from M. de la Frezeliere, which he now opened, and which was dated from Verſailles. In this letter the marquis obſerved, that he ſent him life in the evening from Verſailles, after having announced to him death in the morning from St. Germains. The marquis de Torcy he ſaid

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ſaid, had aſſured him, that the moſt Chriſtian king, together with himſelf, and the other friends of lord Lovat at the court of France, were ſtill more offended than Frezeliere could be, that the queen and king of England peremptorily refuſed their conſent to lord Lovat's being employed. He added, that this however ought not to give him much pain; and he intreated M. de la Frezeliere to inform lord Lovat, on the part of the moſt Chriſtian king, that, as ſoon as the king of England had ſet his foot upon the Scottiſh ſhore, his majeſty would ſend a ſecond army, larger than the firſt, to ſupport him; that with this embarkation the king would commiſſion lord Lovat, as a general officer in the French ſervice, and would thus reduce his own ſovereign to an abſolute neceſſity of receiving him in a gracious and honourable manner.

Lord Lovat has all theſe letters ſtill in his poſſeſſion, and they ſhould have been inſerted verbatim in this place, if ſuch a proceeding would not have had too great a tendency to ſwell the work, and to make a voluminous performance of what was ſimply intended for a memoir, or a very

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curſory hiſtory of a few years of the life of lord Lovat: a work that I thought myſelf obliged, as his relation and intimate friend, to undertake for his juſtification.

The letter of the marquis de la Frezeliere written from Verſailles, aſſuring lord Lovat of the protection of the moſt Chriſtian king, and that he ſhould be ſent into Scotland with an early opportunity, as his majeſty's general officer, conſoled him extremely under his preſent adverſity. He immediately diſpatched his brother poſt to Paris, in order, that, having firſt conferred with M. de la Frezeliere, he might ſet out for Scotland to place himſelf at the head of his clan, while lord Lovat expected at Saumur the orders of the court of France. The chevalier Fraſer had however been only four days at Paris, when news arrived, that the king of England was upon his return to Dunkirk, after the entire failure of his unfortunate enterpriſe.

This event obliged the marquis to alter his meaſures. He exerted all his talents to endeavour to mitigate the reſentment of the queen. Finding her as inflexible as ever, he

he wrote to lord Lovat, peremptorily advising his return to his own country, in order to make his peace with queen Anne. Lord Lovat replied, that he was upon the worſt terms with that princeſs, having done every thing in his power to overturn her throne; that the duke of Hamilton and lord Athol, his perſonal and inveterate enemies, were her particular favourites; and that for theſe reaſons he could not hope for juſtice, either in England or Scotland, during her life. PART II. §. 3. 1708.

The marquis was not ſatisfied with theſe reaſons. He wrote lord Lovat continual letters to convince him that his ruin in France was irretrievable; that indeed the court of France was ſufficiently well diſpoſed towards him, but that ſhe would always regulate her conduct in his regard in conformity to the inclinations of the court of St. Germains, and that, during the life of the queen and lord Middleton, he had nothing to look for in that country, but uninterrupted diſappointments, and eternal diſgrace. "You "ought therefore," added the marquis, "to "apply without delay to all your relations "and friends, to procure you a favourable

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" reception from the court of London. " In a word, with the permiſſion or with- " out the permiſſion of that court, you can " no longer be excuſed from throwing " yourſelf at once upon your clan and your " family, and living or dying like a brave " and an honourable man, and in a manner " worthy of your deſcent; rather than to " remain in France with the character of a " criminal, and to languiſh in priſon like a " traitor. I therefore conjure you, as your " relation and friend, to ſummon a firm re- " ſolution, to eſcape out of the hands of your " enemies, and to employ the remainder of " your days in reſtoring the proſperity and " credit of a clan and an ancient houſe, " which, both in honour and conſcience, " you are obliged to ſupport. You have " nothing to do but to apply to my ſtew- " ard for any ſums of money neceſſary for " the execution of this undertaking."

Lord Lovat now thought himſelf obliged to review the objections he had made, and to beſtow a deliberate examination upon the propoſal of his friend. He knew, that whatever the marquis de la Frezeliere had the goodneſs to ſuggeſt, was the ſimple

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ple truth, and the pure effect of his affectionate attachment to lord Lovat and his houſe, which indeed he conſidered as his own. He ſaw the malice of his enemies in the adminiſtration of St. Germains, and the aſcendancy of the duke of Hamilton, lord Athol, and Mackenzie of Preſtonhal, their creature and the uſurper of lord Lovat's eſtate *, in that unjuſt and ungrateful court.

* The late marquis of Athol being diſappointed in his ſcheme of marrying the eldeſt daughter of Hugh lord Lovat, who by his direction had aſſumed the title of baroneſs Lovat, with lord Salton's ſon, propoſed to match her with Alexander Mackenzie, ſon of lord Preſtonhal, then one of the judges in the court of ſeſſion in Scotland. His lordſhip and his ſon readily accepted the propoſal, and a marriage ſettlement was executed, by which Mr. Mackenzie was to aſſume the title of Fraſerdale, and the children of the marriage were to bear the name of Fraſer. The eſtate of Lovat was ſettled upon Fraſerdale, during his life, with remainder to the heirs of the marriage; of which there was iſſue a ſon, named Hugh Fraſer, who in right of his mother claimed the honours and title of Lovat, and ſeveral other children. Fraſerdale was engaged in the rebellion of 1715; and being attainted and his eſtate forfeited, lord Lovat got poſſeſſion of it by a gift from the crown, during the life of Fraſerdale. A ſuit was now commenced between Simon, the hero of the preſent memoirs, and Hugh Fraſer, Fraſerdale's eldeſt ſon, who both of them claimed the title of lord Lovat; the ſuit was awarded in favour of Simon. A ſecond ſuit was inſtituted in order to try

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court. He was in a manner diſtracted, when he recollected, that he had ever hazarded his life, that he had ever ſacrificed his property and eſtate in the ſervice of that unfortunate court, which had treated him with the utmoſt inhumanity, and as if he had been the baſeſt and moſt contemptible of the human race.

From this moment he reſolved to exert every faculty he poſſeſſed, in order to effect his return to his own country, and to abandon the intereſts of a court, which had employed all the artifices that hell could invent, to take from him his life, and what was dearer to him than life, his reputation. The ſole object of his attention, and what was neareſt to his heart, was now to return to his beloved clan, and

the right of Hugh Fraſer in the reverſion of the Lovat eſtate. This ſuit was at length compromiſed in conſideration of a ſum of money paid by lord Lovat; and thus about the year 1732 a termination was put to diſputes which had for ſo long a time ſubſiſted. *Vide Memoirs of the Life of Lord Lovat*, a pamphlet printed in the year 1746; which in matters of heraldry and genealogy is tolerably accurate, but in every other reſpect exhibits a tiſſue of the moſt impudent and ridiculous lies that ever were publiſhed.

to

to live and die in the midſt of them. Thus circumſtanced he would not merely have inliſted himſelf in the party of the houſe of Hanover, which was called to the crowns of Scotland, England and Ireland by all the ſtates of the kingdom; he would have united himſelf to any foreign prince in the univerſe, who would have aſſiſted him in the attainment of his juſt and laudable deſign, of re-eſtabliſhing his family, and proclaiming to all Scotland the barbarous cruelty of the court of St. Germains. PART II. §. 3. 1708.

He was however unwilling to do any thing, which might be conſtrued into ingratitude and diſreſpect to the moſt Chriſtian king, or afford a plauſible handle to the court of St. Germains to ruin him beyond redemption at the court of France. He contented himſelf for the preſent with applying to the marquis de Torcy, for permiſſion, either to return to his own country, or to ſerve in the armies of France. He told the miniſter, that he could no longer paſſively ſubmit to the calumnies and perſecution of the court of St. Germains; that he muſt beg leave humbly to demand that an end be put to his diſgrace;

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and that, if this requeſt were not granted, he was unalterably reſolved to return into his own country.

To this letter he received no anſwer. The marquis de la Frezeliere however wrote him repeatedly, that M. de Torcy had told him, that lord Lovat would do well to return home; that the court of France would not be offended at his taking that ſtep, but that ſhe would never act ſo directly in oppoſition to the queen and court of St. Germains, as to grant him a formal diſmiſſion; that his departure was a thing to be done and not to be talked of. This notice was perfectly ſatisfactory to lord Lovat; and, being acquainted with the ideas of the court of France, he thought no longer but of making his eſcape, and overlooking all the riſks of his journey, in order to arrive with his brother at his own eſtate.

In the interim however a misfortune happened to the marquis de la Frezeliere, which prevented the execution of his deſign. The marquis was a man of the moſt comprehenſive and inſatiable ambition. He was

was already at the head of the artillery, of which he was hereditary firſt lieutenant general, and commander in chief, wherever the grand maſter of the ordnance was not preſent. This degree of promotion however did not ſatisfy him. He believed he could not ſo ſoon arrive at the truncheon of marſhal of France by that path, as he might do by commanding as a general officer in the line of battle. He was now in the army of marſhal Villars, and, being much eſteemed by that nobleman, he obtained from him permiſſion to command the artillery of his army, and to take rank in the line of battle at the ſame time.* PART II. §. 3.

* 1707.

The talents and the ſuperior genius of M. de la Frezeliere had excited againſt him many enemies in the corps of general officers. They accordingly made their complaint to the king and the duke de Maine, grand maſter of the ordnance, reſpecting this unuſual indulgence. In compliance with their repreſentations the king wrote to marſhal Villars, to prohibit the marquis from taking rank as a general officer in the line of battle; obſerving at the ſame time, that it was unprecedented, and pre-

PART II. §. 3. prejudicial to his ſervice, it being impoſſible for M. de la Frezeliere to be at once at the head of the artillery and in the line of battle, and to give the neceſſary orders in theſe different departments. Marſhal Villars, notwithſtanding his particular friendſhip and eſteem for the marquis, was obliged to ſignify to him the orders of the king; and, in conſequence of this prohibition, M. de la Frezeliere withdrew to his own eſtate under pretence of ſickneſs.

This incident happened in the campaign of 1707. The marquis ſeemed to intend to have no concern in the enſuing campaign, unleſs he were permitted to aſſume rank in the line, as well as in the artillery. To this indulgence the duke de Maine, grand-maſter of the ordnance, particularly oppoſed himſelf. He was however perfectly ſenſible how eſſential it was to the ſervice of France, that M. de la Frezeliere ſhould be employed. He knew, that the artillery had never been ſo well ſerved as by the marquis, who ſupported the glory and reputation of the corps, as well by the fertility of his genius and his extreme ſkill in the ſcience, as by the very expenſive and magnificent manner in which he always appeared.

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The duke therefore took ſome pains to repreſent to him that his father had advanced very quickly in the road of promotion, and that he would infallibly do the ſame; that his taking rank in the line would in reality only obſtruct his advancement; that he might depend upon his good offices; and that he would give him his word that he would puſh him forward, and carry his affair, provided he remained quiet at the head of the artillery. PART II. §. 3. 1708.

The marquis however, who had once ſerved in the line, had it too much at heart to give it up. He believed that the officers would regard him as diſgraced, by the affront he would ſuſtain in being driven from his ſtation by the order of his ſovereign. Beſide, M. de la Frezeliere was of a high and elevated ſpirit. He did not pretend to be ignorant of the ſuperior talents he poſſeſſed in every part of the ſcience of war. And he could ill brook the being obliged to receive orders from a young brigadier, or ſometimes a young colonel, freſh from the mouſquetaires or the academy, to whom he might be ſubject, as commandant of the artillery, in marches and detachments.

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Induced by all theſe conſiderations, he intreated the king, and the grand-maſter, to permit him to ſerve at the head of the artillery and in the line at the ſame time. He engaged to forfeit his head if the king's ſervice ſuffered the ſmalleſt diſaſter in conſequence of this permiſſion, or in caſe he did not perfectly diſcharge the duties of both departments. If however the king and the duke were of a different opinion, he ſolicited them to permit him to ſerve only in the line of battle, and to beſtow the artillery upon any perſon whom they ſhould think qualified for the command. The duke de Maine replied poſitively, on the part of the king, that he would grant neither the one nor the other; but that it was neceſſary, that he ſhould ſerve at the head of the artillery, as his father and he had always done.

To this deciſion the marquis anſwered, that he had rather quit the ſervice altogether, and retire to his own eſtate for the reſt of his life, than not continue to ſerve in the line of battle. The grand-maſter, ſtedfaſt to his purpoſe, exerted his utmoſt rhetoric

rhetoric to convince him of his error, and to perſuade him to recede; obſerving, at the ſame time, that the king would be greatly diſpleaſed, if the marquis talked of retiring in the commencement of a campaign, and in the midſt of a moſt extenſive and deſtructive war. M. de la Frezeliere remained inflexible. He reſolved, with ſomewhat too haughty a firmneſs, to abide by his dilemma, and either renounce the ſervice, or have his poſt in the line confirmed to him. PART II. §. 3. 1708.

The duke de Maine, underſtanding that the equipage of the artillery was ready to march for the Rhine, and perceiving that he gained no ground in his endeavour to ſubdue the hauteur of the marquis, became ſeriouſly offended. He ſent the ſecretary of the ordnance to tell M. de la Frezeliere, that he allowed him only twenty-four hours to form his reſolution, to aſſume the command of the artillery, or to refuſe it; bidding him at the ſame time take care what he did. The marquis, piqued at an order couched in ſuch preciſe and menacing language, was led to an action, bold beyond all example,

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and bordering upon infanity. By way of anſwer to the duke's meſſage, he incloſed in a letter his commiſſion of commandant of the artillery, and ſent it by a courier.

The duke de Maine conceived himſelf to be inſulted by this ſtep, and haſtened inſtantly to complain of it to the king. His majeſty conſidered the offence as done to himſelf, and his ſervice treated with contempt by this unheard of proceeding. M. de la Frezeliere was the next day thrown into the Baſtile, to the aſtoniſhment of the whole kingdom of France.

The court, the miniſters, the marſhals of France, and in a word every perſon of diſtinction at Verſailles and at Paris, took part with the marquis, on account of his birth, his reputation, his own important ſervices, and thoſe of his father and his houſe. Many perſons of the firſt rank ſolicited the king and the grand-maſter for his liberty. But the one and the other appeared inflexible, and the friends of M. de la Frezeliere gave him up for loſt. He himſelf became apprehenſive of the worſt.

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The brother of lord Lovat had reſided at the marquis's houſe at the arſenal, ever ſince the king of England had ſet out for Dunkirk. In his preſent ſituation the marquis thought proper to ſend for him incognito to his apartment in the Baſtile, and ſpoke to him in the following manner. "You "know, my dear chevalier, that I have ex- "tremely preſſed my lord your brother, to "return to his own country, perſuaded "that he was irretrievably ruined in "France. I have even given you an order "upon my ſteward in Anjou for whatever "money lord Lovat may want for the pro- "ſecution of his journey. PART II. §. 3. 1708.

"The tables are now turned upon me. "You ſee in what a ſituation I am. The "king is abſolute maſter in France, and "there is nothing I have not reaſon to "fear. If then your brother quit France "in the preſent criſis, my enemies will "not fail to tell the king, that it is in con- "cert with me, that he is ſet out to join our "enemies. I ſhall then be ruined without "reſource. My houſes and plantations "will be raſed, and my family for ever "annihilated. For theſe reaſons I muſt "intreat

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" intreat you, my dear chevalier, to ſet out " immediately for your brother at Saumur, " to tell him, if he ſet any value upon me as " his relation and friend, or if he retain any " regard for my family and children, who " bear the ſame name, and are derived from " one common ſtock with himſelf, that I " conjure him, by our mutual intercourſe, " and all the engagements between us, not " to leave France till my fate be de- " cided. In the mean time he may uſe my " ſeat as his own, and depend upon my " ſharing with him every thing I have to " the laſt farthing."

The brother of lord Lovat and the marquis now took leave of each other, with tears on both ſides. The chevalier Fraſer made all poſſible diligence to reach his brother at Saumur, as he knew that he was preparing for immediate eſcape.

In reality lord Lovat had propoſed to ſet out that very week. There were at that time at Saumur ſeveral Engliſhmen, who had been taken priſoners at the battle of Almanza. Among them lord Lovat had found a ſubaltern officer in general Hervey's regiment of horſe,

horſe, of the name of Jones, a man of good ſenſe, reſolution and enterpriſe. To this man lord Lovat communicated the deſign he had formed of eſcaping from France, and throwing himſelf at the feet of the dukes of Marlborough and Argyle, to intreat them to interpoſe in his favour with queen Anne. PART II. §. 3. 1708.

Mr. Jones approved of his intention, and promiſed to accompany him at the hazard of his life. Apprehenſive in the mean time of a diſcovery, lord Lovat feared that every poſt might bring an order from court, to throw him once more into the dungeon from which he had been ſo happily delivered. He therefore concealed himſelf every poſt-day in Mr. Jones's apartments in the ſuburbs, in order to avoid a ſurpriſe. At the ſame time he gained an intimate friend of the lieutenant, to give him early intelligence of the orders the principal received from Verſailles.

Lord Lovat was thus upon the eve of ſetting out for England, and had provided againſt every hazard that might attend his

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undertaking. He was therefore extremely aſtoniſhed, when he ſaw his brother, whom he expected to join at Paris, arrive at Saumur. Little had he expected ſuch a letter as was now put into his hands from M. de la Frezeliere; dated from the Baſtile, acquainting him with the great misfortune that had befallen him, and conjuring him not to quit France, till the king, moved by the interceſſion of his numerous friends, ſhould grant him his liberty; adding, that, if lord Lovat purſued his purpoſe in the preſent conjuncture, his perſon and family would be the victims of his unkindneſs, and the name of Frezel be extinguiſhed in France.

Lord Lovat was extremely affected, to learn the very unexpected misfortune of M. de la Frezeliere. He loved him as his brother; his requeſt and his ſituation led him therefore to the total alteration of his deſign. He now reſolved, rather to encounter all the calamities that could overtake him in France, than by his flight to bring on the ruin of the marquis and his houſe. He wrote immediately to the marquis, intreating him to be perfect-

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ly eaſy on his account, aſſuring him, that he was reſolved rather to die in a dungeon in France, than attempt to make his eſcape, till he was reſtored to his liberty and former ſituation. PART II. §. 3. 1708.

Lord Lovat, being thus obliged to depart from his original plan, when the Engliſh priſoners at Saumur were exchanged, gave to his confident Mr. Jones letters for the duke of Argyle and ſome other of his relations and friends. He informed them of the perſecutions he had experienced on the part of the court of St. Germains. He declared himſelf unalterably reſolved to abandon the intereſts of that court. For theſe reaſons he intreated them to make his peace with queen Anne; adding, that for the reſt of his life it was his firm intention, to live peaceably in his own country, and to demean himſelf like a good and faithful ſubject to her majeſty.

Mr. Jones promiſed to deliver theſe letters faithfully according to their addreſs, and at the ſame time to give an account to the dukes of Marlborough and Argyle, of the eſſential ſervices lord Lovat had render-

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ed to the Engliſh priſoners, during their reſidence at Saumur. Such was the firſt correſpondence of any kind, or with any individual, that lord Lovat had entered into in the Britiſh kingdoms ſince the commencement of his impriſonment and exile.

The marquis de la Frezeliere remained only three months in the Baſtile, when his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and the whole kingdom of France found occaſion for his perſonal ſervices. After the unfortunate day of Oudenarde, the generals of the allies viſibly threatened to beſiege the rich, beautiful and important city of Liſle. As marſhal Boufflers was governor of French Flanders and the city of Liſle, he reſolved to repair in perſon to the defence of the capital of his province. His intimate friends aſſured him, that M. de la Frezeliere was the firſt man in the world for the attack and defence of places, and had even improved in theſe reſpects upon the diſcoveries of Vauban. Marſhal Boufflers had himſelf been the intimate friend of the marquis's father, and was acquainted with the ſingular valour and extenſive capacity of the ſon.

Imme-

Immediately therefore upon the preſent occurrence, he haſtened to wait upon the king, of whom he was the favourite, and who had always ſhown a very ſingular eſteem for his perſon. "Your majeſty," ſaid M. de Boufflers, "has favoured me "with your permiſſion to have the honour "of defending the city of Liſle in perſon. "Permit me then moſt humbly to intreat "you to give me for a ſecond in this enter- "priſe M. de la Frezeliere. He is not "only one of the beſt engineers in France, "but alſo the firſt man in the univerſe in "the conduct of artillery, and a moſt brave "and excellent officer in the affairs of war "in general."

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The king had been importuned by all the marſhals of France and almoſt every perſon in his court in favour of the marquis de la Frezeliere. He was himſelf perfectly acquainted with the reality of his merits. His majeſty was therefore by no means diſpleaſed at the preſent occaſion's being afforded him to receive him once more into favour. He readily granted marſhal Boufflers's requeſt. A few days after, an order was ſent to the marquis at the Baſtile,

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to repair with all diligence to the city of Liſle, and to diſcharge his duty under marſhal Boufflers, as firſt lieutenant-general of the artillery, and major-general in the army*.

This order gave the extremeſt pleaſure to the marquis; and ſo much the more, as it had never been ſeen in France, that any perſon, whatever were his rank, ſhould be liberated from the Baſtile by an order to go and command in the armies or cities of the king's dominions, except in the caſe of the immortal marſhal Luxembourg, and that of the marquis de la Frezeliere. Having received the order of the king in the cloſe of the evening, he did not leave the Baſtile; but ordered his poſtchaiſe to the gate early the next morning; and, without once entering his houſe at the arſenal, which was but a muſket-ſhot from the priſon, he ſet out ſtrait for Liſle, where he arrived in two days.

* This is probably a mere expreſſion of form, and implies titular rank, without including actual permiſſion to ſerve in the line. It appears from what follows, that it did not imply the conceſſion of M. de la Frezeliere's original demand.

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The day after his arrival he wrote a letter to lord Lovat, acquainting him with the glorious manner, in which he had been liberated from the Baſtile, and reſtored to the good graces of his ſovereign. He informed him that the enemy appeared to have the deſign of inveſting the place, but that, for himſelf, he regarded this enterpriſe as the moſt raſh and inconſiderate that had ever been formed; that by all the rules of war the allies muſt periſh in the attempt. At the ſame time he obſerved, that lord Lovat was now at liberty to reſume his deſign; that however, if he were willing to wait the termination of the ſiege, he hoped to render ſuch eſſential ſervices to his king, as ſhould give him a right to expect and to obtain for that nobleman his return to the court, and the termination of his diſgrace. Lord Lovat the more willingly conſented to wait the event, as he had yet heard no news of the letters he had intruſted to Mr. Jones for the duke of Argyle and his other friends.

M. de la Frezeliere acquired immortal glory in this affair. The admirable defence of Liſle turned chiefly upon him, as well

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in conſequence of his extraordinary capacity, as by the great confidence placed in him by M. de Boufflers. The ſiege being finiſhed, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general in the king's ſervice, previous to his accompanying marſhal Boufflers in entering the citadel for the defence of that excellent fortreſs.

The citadel being at length, as well as the town, ſurrendered to the enemy, after the moſt obſtinate and incomparable defence that has ever been made in our days, M. de Boufflers returned to court to give an account of his truſt to the ſovereign. He had the goodneſs to obſerve to the king that he was entirely indebted for this admirable defence to M. de la Frezeliere, and that now he had the honour to aſſure his majeſty, that the marquis was one of the beſt generals in his ſervice, and that not leſs in campaign war, than in the attack and defence of fortreſſes. The king, having ſo much reaſon to be ſatisfied with the character that marſhal Boufflers gave of the marquis, beſtowed upon him, as a mark of his approbation, the favour, for the claim of which he had ſome months before been thrown into

into the Baſtile. He gave him his orders for the enſuing campaign, to command in chief the artillery in Flanders, and to take actual rank as lieutenant general in the line of battle. PART II. §. 3. 1709.

In this campaign he perfectly did his duty in both departments. This was particularly conſpicuous at the battle of Malplaquet, where the artillery was entirely well conducted, at the ſame time that the marquis diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the moſt honourable manner, in his poſt on the left wing in the line of battle. He had the happineſs to have under his orders the brigade of Navarre, commanded by M. de Gaſſion, nephew to the lieutenant general of that name, and heir to his valour; and the royal regiment of infantry, commanded by the count d'Aubignè, now inſpector general and governor of Saumur, a young officer, whoſe courage and merit are not leſs diſtinguiſhed than his birth. M. de la Frezeliere, with theſe five battalions, attacked in ſo vigorous a manner a large column of the allies, as entirely to defeat it, purſuing them with great carnage far beyond their intrenchments.

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The ſucceſs he obtained would have chained victory to the wheels of the French, if, almoſt at the ſame time, the allies had not penetrated into the centre of the line, where the regiment of French guards gave way in a very diſgraceful manner. It was this circumſtance, which completed in favour of the allies a glorious, though it muſt be confeſſed a moſt deſtructive victory.

They had already gained a conſiderable advantage over the right wing of the king's army, commanded by marſhal Villars in perſon. The brave duke of Argyle, at the head of the Engliſh and Scottiſh infantry, entirely defeated all the infantry of this wing, driving them back into the woods which covered their flank. Marſhal Villars rallied his men ſeveral times, always to no purpoſe; and having expoſed himſelf too much, he received that dangerous wound in his knee, which decided the fate of the engagement on that ſide.

The action of M. de la Frezeliere, at the head of the brigade of Navarre, having made a great deal of noiſe, added conſiderably to his reputation, and to the eſteem which the whole

whole army had for him. The chevalier de St. George, in order to diſſipate the mortification he had experienced in the miſcarriage of the Scottiſh enterpriſe, and at the ſame time to learn the ſcience of war, made the campaign of Malplaquet in Villars's army. He was the firſt to expreſs his reſpect for the marquis, and the high opinion he had of his conduct in that day. M. de la Frezeliere, on his ſide, made his court in the moſt aſſiduous manner to the chevalier and his miniſter, lord Middleton. He had always kept one of the beſt tables in the army, and he now entertained theſe diſtinguiſhed perſons ſeveral times in the moſt ſumptuous manner. PART II. §. 3. 1709.

His deſign in all this was to turn the eſteem of the chevalier to the immediate advantage of lord Lovat. He addreſſed himſelf indifferently to lord Middleton and to his maſter. But he found both the one and the other perfectly inexorable upon this head. He wrote immediately to lord Lovat, aſſuring him that he muſt at no time expect any thing from the court of St. Germains, but mortification, unworthy treatment and diſgrace; and recommending to

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to him, once more in good earneſt to think of bidding a final adieu to France.

Lord Lovat was ſatisfied, by the intelligence he received from M. de la Frezeliere and his other friends at the court of St. Germains, that the chevalier de St. George, the queen and lord Middleton had ſo decided a preference for the duke of Hamilton and lord Athol, that he had nothing to hope for from that court, during the life of theſe two noblemen, of the queen or her miniſter, all of them his declared enemies, but oppreſſion and diſgrace. He recurred therefore to the reſolution he had formed more than twelve months before, of entirely abandoning, and ſurely with ſufficient reaſon, the intereſts of this unjuſt and ungrateful court, and of returning to his own country at all adventures.

Not that the difficulties were not very great on this ſide. The enemies of lord Lovat had much influence at the court of London, as well as at St. Germains. Their honour was not leſs engaged than their intereſt, to prevent by every means in their power the return of this nobleman, their capital

pital and perſonal enemy. Lord Lovat however was conſcious, that his authority and credit in the north of Scotland could ſcarcely be regarded as an object of contempt. He knew, that he could be uſeful in times of war to any king or queen of England who ſhould be able to engage his ſervices. In fine, he was reſolved to try every poſſible method to make his peace with queen Anne, and for that purpoſe to addreſs himſelf to the great nobility who directed the affairs of her government.

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Lord Lovat believed that he had met with a happy occaſion for this purpoſe. There were ſix officers of the regiment of the Engliſh guards, by name meſſieurs Saubergue, Brady, Bradbury, Pulteney, Hamilton and Fogg, who had been taken priſoner at the battle of Almanza, and were confined at the town of Loudun, ſeven leagues from Saumur. Theſe officers had the liberty of paſſing from one of theſe places to the other, and viſiting their privates who were confined at Saumur.

Lord Lovat conſtantly paid to theſe gentlemen, every poſſible degree of attention,

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tention, and exerted in their behalf a power, which was in many reſpects by no means uſeleſs to them. M. de la Frezeliere's beautiful houſe of Anglers was only one league from Loudun, and the marchioneſs reſiding there at that time, lord Lovat was in a manner the child of the houſe. He engaged this lady, whoſe manners were by nature extremely polite and affable, frequently to receive theſe ſix Engliſh officers at her ſeat, and to entertain them in a very elegant manner.

There happened about this time an accident to theſe gentlemen, which ſerves to ſhew the friendſhip and generoſity of lord Lovat, at the ſame time that it was extremely ill requited in the ſequel. Mr. Hamilton, for a quarrel of a ſtraw, killed his companion, captain Bradbury. Some people ſaid he was to blame in the affair; others that he was innocent. Be that as it will, Mr. Hamilton received a very conſiderable wound in his arm, the ſword having pierced as far as the ſhoulder. Covered with blood, and purſued by the archers of the prevôt and judges of the town of Loudun, where he had killed Bradbury, he

fled directly to Anglers. He had ſpent the preceding evening there in company with lord Lovat, whom he called his couſin, being, as he ſaid, the ſon of Mr. Hamilton of Huſſey, and by his mother nearly related to lord Mar, to whom lord Lovat was alſo allied on the mother's ſide. PART II. §. 3. 1709.

As ſoon as he arrived, he deſired lord Lovat to be called out of the caſtle to ſpeak with him. Mr. Hamilton now threw himſelf into his arms, crying, "My lord, "I am come to aſk my life of you. I have "had the misfortune to kill my comrade, "captain Bradbury; I am myſelf ſevere-"ly wounded; and I am purſued by the "judges and prevôt of Loudun with their "archers. If I am taken, I ſhall infallibly "loſe my life. Let me beſeech you then, "my dear lord, to take pity upon me, and "protect me in my preſent diſtreſs." Lord Lovat replied, that he would do for him, as he would for his brother in his ſituation.

Having ſaid this he vaniſhed in a moment. He flew immediately to the marchioneſs, and related to her the melancholy

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choly tale. He intreated her, if she had any regard for him, to receive his relation and friend into her house, and to protect him in his present deplorable condition from falling into the hands of his pursuers. The marchioness was at first terrified at the proposal, fearing the laws of France, and the ordinances of the king, which are extremely severe in the case of duels. Her natural temper however overflowed with generosity and compassion. She had a very high friendship for lord Lovat. She replied, that indeed she risked much in harbouring a man, who had killed his antagonist in a duel; there was nothing however that she could refuse to lord Lovat; he might therefore introduce Mr. Hamilton, and she would order her people immediately to prepare for him a proper apartment.

Lord Lovat instantly left the marchioness. He brought Mr. Hamilton into the castle of Anglers. He sent with all diligence for the sieur de la Tour, surgeon to the family, and a man of great skill in his profession. That gentleman came upon the first summons and dressed Mr. Hamilton; and pronounced

his wound to be very dangerous. Lord Lovat obliged him not to leave the houſe till the convaleſcence of his patient. PART II. §. 3. 1769.

The prevôt and his archers conjectured that Mr. Hamilton had taken refuge with the marchioneſs de la Frezeliere, and did not adventure to enter the caſtle in ſearch of him. They returned to Loudun to draw up a verbal proceſs upon the dead body of captain Bradbury. Mr. Hamilton in the mean time was ſheltered and nurſed for two months in the caſtle of the marquis de la Frezeliere, as if he had been with his own father. Lord Lovat did not quit him till he was perfectly recovered.

During this period the friends of the marchioneſs gave her repeated information, that the prevôt and judges of Loudun threatened to advertiſe the court, that ſhe harboured in her caſtle Mr. Hamilton who had killed his man in a duel. Lord Lovat therefore at the end of this term was obliged to conduct Mr. Hamilton during the night, to the reſidence of a man of rank of his acquaintance. This perſon was the marquis de Borſtel, who reſided about three leagues from Anglers. He

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was a man of much politeneſs and generoſity, full of merit and good ſenſe, and extremely partial to foreigners; becauſe his father was deſcended from a noble houſe in Germany, and had been ambaſſador from the elector Palatine, king of Bohemia.

M. de Borſtel was the intimate friend of lord Lovat, and from affection to him, at the hazard of his life and property, he received Mr. Hamilton, in defiance of the ſevere laws of France againſt duelling. Mr. Hamilton reſided two months longer with the marquis as if he had been the child of the houſe.

The ſeat of this nobleman was one league from Loudun, where Mr. Hamilton had a miſtreſs. In going frequently to ſee her without ſufficient precaution, he was at laſt diſcovered and taken by the prevôt, and thrown into priſon at Loudun, where he was in much apprehenſion for his life. The moment lord Lovat had intelligence of his misfortune, he went to ſee and conſole him. He immediately intereſted his friends at the court of France in his behalf, and obtained an order to remove Mr. Hamilton from

from the horrible priſon of Loudun to the agreeable caſtle of Saumur. PART II. §. 3. 1709.

As lord Lovat reſided in perſon at Saumur, he was continually rendering Mr. Hamilton conſiderable ſervices, not only there, but by his friends at court; till, contrary to his own hopes, this gentleman was ſet at liberty, and exchanged with the other officers of his regiment.

Mr. Hamilton appeared extremely ſenſible of the ſervices lord Lovat had done him. He often ſwore, that he ſhould always be ready to hazard his life for the perſon and intereſt of that nobleman; and, as he was about to ſet out for England, he earneſtly preſſed to be employed in doing ſome ſervice for him in that country. Lord Lovat placed an entire confidence in him, as his relation, and a man who owed to him his life. He communicated to him his intention, tired out as he was with the barbarous and unremitted perſecution of the court of St. Germains, of quitting France; and gave him letters to the dukes of Marlborough, Argyle and Queenſberry, and to the earls of Wemys and Leven, his friends and relations.

PART II. §. 3. In theſe letters lord Lovat extolled in high terms the condeſcenſion and goodneſs of the court of France towards him. He bitterly complained of the ingratitude and injuſtice of the court of St. Germains. And he moſt humbly intreated theſe noblemen to make his peace with queen Anne, ſince he deſired nothing with more ardour, than to return, to reſtore his family and clan, and to live peaceably upon his own eſtate, as her majeſty's moſt faithful ſubject.

Lord Lovat delivered theſe letters open to Mr. Hamilton, and intreated him to communicate them to the marquis de la Frezeliere, who commanded at that time at Valenciennes, through which Mr. Hamilton's route lay. Lord Lovat was deſirous, not to do any thing, without having firſt taken the advice of the marquis, who knew the intentions of the court of France reſpecting him. Accordingly he requeſted Mr. Hamilton to leave theſe letters with M. de la Frezeliere; or to burn them, in caſe that nobleman diſapproved of their being ſent to the lords to whom they were addreſſed.

PART II. §. 3.

Mr. Hamilton took his leave with a thouſand proteſtations of friendſhip and unalterable gratitude. When he arrived in Paris, he waited upon the marchioneſs de la Frezeliere, who received him with her uſual politeneſs, and gave him a letter for her huſband at Valenciennes. But, in ſpite of his ſeveral promiſes to the marchioneſs and to lord Lovat, he paſſed into the conquered Netherlands without ſeeing M. de la Frezeliere.

Upon his arrival, his friends acquitted him, by a favourable court martial, of the death of captain Bradbury. He afterwards paſſed into England; but, in the room of delivering lord Lovat's letters according to their addreſs, he carried them to the duke of Hamilton and lord Athol, his perſonal and declared enemies. Previouſly to his arrival the Engliſh adminiſtration had been changed:* the duke of Marlborough and the friends of lord Lovat had begun to loſe their credit with queen Anne. The country party had been called into power. The duke of Hamilton and lord Athol were already among the greateſt favourites. Mr. Hamilton knew that he

* 1710.

PART II. §. 3. could not better make his court to theſe noblemen, than by delivering up lord Lovat to be ruined by them in France; and he believed, that by this infamous piece of treachery he ſhould make his fortune.

The duke of Hamilton and lord Athol, conceiving that they had now met with an opportunity of rendering it impoſſible for lord Lovat ever again to become formidable to them, carried his letters to the earl of Mar, at that time ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland. The earl was aſſailed with the united ſolicitations of the duke of Hamilton, lord Athol, and Mackenzie of Preſtonhal, who enjoyed the eſtate of lord Lovat, and who gave himſelf out for a zealous Jacobite, the better to ruin the intereſts of lord Lovat at the court of St. Germains. In compliance with their intreaties, the earl of Mar tranſmitted the letters to the court of St. Germains, by his near relation, Mr. Erſkine.

This meaſure had nearly its entire effect. The queen no ſooner received the intelligence than ſhe ſent it by lord Middleton to the marquis de Torcy, by this means

to

to eſtabliſh the treaſon of lord Lovat againſt his ſovereign, and induce the king to conſign him to a perpetual impriſonment. It was only, to the credit of the marquis de la Frezeliere, and to the natural generoſity of M. de Torcy, that lord Lovat was indebted for his not being ſhut up between four walls for the reſt of his life. PART II. §. 3.

Mr. Hamilton had been indebted in a moſt ſingular manner for his life to lord Lovat; he had promiſed a juſt return for this ſervice, and an unalterable gratitude. In the inſtance I have related he did every thing that depended upon him, to deſtroy lord Lovat, and to take away the life of the man to whom he owed his own. I leave it to the univerſe to decide upon the blackneſs of this treachery, and the character that is due to this monſter of ingratitude.

The friends of lord Lovat ſaved him from the misfortune of a perpetual impriſonment, upon this occaſion. It muſt not however be imagined that the treachery of Mr. Hamilton had not the moſt unfavourable effect upon the future events of his ſtory. From that moment the ſworn enmity of the court of St.

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Germains seemed to acquire new energy, and to kindle with new hopes. The court of France, which till this occurrence had always protected lord Lovat, after having seen his own letters, began to believe, that there was some truth in the crimes of tergiversation and treason, which the court of St. Germains had all along charged upon him.

He was now ruined at the courts of St. Germains and Versailles. For himself he saw more than ever the necessity of escaping as he could, with his honour and his life out of the kingdom of France. Still however he would do nothing without consulting the marquis de la Frezeliere, whom he regarded as his father in that country. The 1709. marquis found his reputation and credit daily increasing at the court of France, and he was in a perfectly good understanding with the king of England. He understood from his friends at Versailles, that the design of a Scottish insurrection was revived. Upon these circumstances he took it in his head to build the plan of a new project for Scotland, and to engage the courts of France and St. Germains to name him

him commander in chief and generaliſſimo of the expedition. PART II. §. 3. 1709.

Full of this deſign, he adviſed lord Lovat to defer returning to his own country till he had the pleaſure of ſeeing him; adding, that as ſoon as the campaign was terminated he would come to Saumur expreſsly for that purpoſe. Lord Lovat therefore waited his arrival with impatience.

About the latter end of November the marquis de la Frezeliere, with his marchioneſs and family, arrived at Saumur. Lord Lovat went ſome leagues to meet him, and they encountered each other with marks of inexpreſſible friendſhip and tenderneſs on both ſides. The marquis was received at Saumur with a ſalute of cannon, and every teſtimony of honour and celebrity. After having remained ſome days in this city, he conducted lord Lovat and his brother to the pleaſant caſtle of Anglers, where all of them paſſed the winter together.

It was here that M. de la Frezeliere, diſcloſed to lord Lovat the ideas he had indulged.

PART II. §. 3. 1709.

dulged. He knew the credit and influence that nobleman poſſeſſed in Scotland. He was ſatisfied, that he was more intimately acquainted with the affairs of that country, and with all that regarded the court of St. Germains, than thoſe that were moſt active in its concerns. He therefore endeavoured to engage lord Lovat to co-operate in digeſting a new project for Scotland. But it was not eaſy to overcome the repugnance of his friend, to lead him to ſuſpend the very different ideas and deſigns he had formed, and to induce him to take a ſhare in any ſcheme, that concerned and involved the intereſts of his perſecutors.

To his objections the marquis anſwered by proteſting, that his grand object was the reſtoration of lord Lovat to his clan in the moſt honourable manner; that, if the king of France approved of his ſcheme, he would himſelf be named to conduct the enterpriſe; and that the court of St. Germains would be well pleaſed with the appointment, ſince he was upon better terms with the king of England than any lieutenant general in the ſervice; that, when the enterpriſe ſhould be executed, lord Lovat might depend

depend upon being employed as a general officer of France, and next to himself in conducting the expedition, and in all the honours and advantages that could result from it. PART II. §. 3. 1709.

Induced by the representations and the wishes of M. de la Frezeliere, lord Lovat consented to lay aside the disgust and resentment, that had been excited in his breast by the ill usage of the court of St. Germains. He entered afresh upon the detail of the information, subservient to a Scottish project. He was won over by his perfect persuasion of the sincerity of the marquis's friendship and affection to him, and by the character he bore with all the world of being one of the ablest generals existing.

Lord lovat stated in a very accurate and particular manner all that might be expected from the highlanders of Scotland, from the loyal inhabitants of the lowlands, and from several districts in the north of England. He gave a precise description, of the situation and nature of the whole country from the remotest mountains of Scotland to the Tweed;

PART II. §. 3.

1709. Tweed; of the degrees of ſubſiſtence this country could furniſh to an army; and of all the paſſages and defiles that ſuch an army might ſeize, in order to hinder the enemy from entering into their faſtneſſes, and to guard themſelves from the danger of a ſurpriſe.

Lord Lovat gave a copy of the project he had delineated to M. de la Frezeliere; who had a particular talent at digeſting plans for a campaign. He therefore took as much from that nobleman's plan as he judged proper, and formed, from all the documents in his hands, a general project for the enterpriſe, containing an excellent enumeration of every thing that was neceſſary for the expedition, what troops, officers, arms, money, ammunition and proviſions. He added to this a detail of what the king of England might do after his arrival in the north of Scotland, in ſpite of the reſiſtance of his enemies; and of the proper routes for an army to purſue, from the highlands to Edinburgh, and from Edinburgh to London.

1710. This plan, which was extremely beautiful and well digeſted, the marquis carried to court; and,

and, it being firſt approved by the miniſter, it was afterwards ſhown to the moſt Chriſtian king. His majeſty was much pleaſed with it. He ordered his ſervants, to labour inceſſantly at completing the neceſſary preparations, which was accordingly done with great diligence. Indeed had the enemy delayed for ten days the ſiege of Douay, the king of England would have ſailed a ſecond time for his dominions. PART II. §. 3. 1710.

It ſeemed however as if this prince had always been followed by an unfortunate ſtar. Marſhal Villars had conſented to ſpare ſix thouſand men, and 1,600,000 francs*, from what had been ſtipulated between him and the adminiſtration for the enſuing campaign in Flanders; ſo great was his partiality to the intereſts of the king of England. In a very ſhort time however before that which was fixed upon for the expedition, he received a courier from the frontiers, with intelligence of the inveſtiture of Douay, which entirely overthrew the project of Scotland. He was now obliged to employ the troops and money deſtined for this enterpriſe, in forming an

* 66,666l.

army

PART II. §. 3. 1710. army with all ſpeed in Flanders, to endeavour to raiſe the ſiege. And ſuch was the unfortunate ſucceſs of the arms of his maſter in this and the following campaign, that the court of France were no longer able to think of a Scottiſh inſurrection.

1711. At the time that the enemy advanced to form the ſiege of Bouchain, the marquis de la Frezeliere commanded a ſeparate camp of about thirty thouſand men. He made a rapid march to arrive before them to the paſſage of a river a few leagues from Bouchain. Being arrived with his whole army, before the enemy had been able to paſs more than a ſmall part of their troops, and conceiving that he had met with a valuable opportunity for cutting them in pieces, he immediately drew up his forces in order of battle, and advanced to attack them. At this moment two *aides de camp* arrived one after the other from marſhal Villars, with orders to M. de la Frezeliere not to attack the enemy.

The marquis, who ſaw victory within his graſp, and was preſented with a favourable occaſion for annihilating the allied

army, instantly dispached a general officer to marshal Villars, to tell him, that he could not undertake to answer with his head, as a good servant of the king, the not attacking the enemy with so manifest an advantage. Villars, who was perfectly acquainted with the merit and enterprise of M. de la Frezeliere, and convinced that he would not fail to beat the enemy, came himself upon a full gallop to prevent the encounter. PART II. §. 3. 1711.

The marquis was in the utmost degree enraged at so great a disappointment. He had spent the four preceding days without sleep, almost without food, in a constant march towards the enemy. Being at once oppressed by fatigue and agitated with disappointment, he fell dangerously ill.

Not only the whole army, but all France cried out upon marshal Villars for having failed to improve so admirable an occasion, of ruining the allied army. They knew not that he had secret orders, not to attack the enemy at whatever advantage, peace being already privately concluded between Louis XIV. and queen Anne. This indeed appeared in the most indubitable manner in

PART II. §. 3. 1711.

in the ſequel of the preſent campaign, and in the campaign of Denain that followed it.

The marquis de la Frezeliere died of the diſtemper he contracted in the neighbourhood of Bouchain. He was extremely regretted, not only by the king, who publicly declared that he had loſt in him one of the beſt officers in his ſervice, but alſo by the whole court. The marſhals of France, the army, and indeed the whole kingdom, were afflicted with the loſs of an officer, equally diſtinguiſhed by his ſkill in campaign war, by the fertility of his genius, and his knowledge in the ſcience of artillery.

By his death lord Lovat loſt his ſupport, his conſolation under misfortunes, and all the hopes he indulged of living either agreably or honourably in the kingdom of France. M. de la Frezeliere indeed bequeathed him as a mark of his affection, his daughter in marriage, with a conſiderable part of his eſtate as a portion. But the lady being extremely young, lord Lovat regarded the marriage as impracticable. He had

had loſt every thing, that had hitherto bound him to France and ſuſpended his reſolutions, and he thought no longer but of returning to his own country. PART II. §. 3. 1711.

SECT. IV.

IT was the counteſs de la Roche Millaye, widow of the couſin-german of M. de la Frezeliere, who announced to him the marquis's death. In this melancholy letter ſhe had the goodneſs to offer to lord Lovat, as he had loſt a relation who had loved him with the affection of a brother, to put herſelf in the place of the marquis, and to render that nobleman every ſervice in her power, as his good friend and relation by marriage. PART II. §. 4. 1711.

Lord Lovat ſhed many tears when he received this letter, and the death of the marquis ſo greatly overwhelmed him, that from ſorrow and dejection it almoſt ſeemed as if he would not have ſurvived his friend. He was indeed extremely ill for ſeveral weeks.

When he recovered, he wrote to madame de la Roche Millaye to conjure her

PART II. §. 4. 1711.

to grant him her friendſhip and good offices at the courts of France and St. Germains; adding, that he had now no longer any other relation in France, and that ſhe was the only perſon capable of doing him ſervice at court. Upon the receipt of this letter the counteſs aſſured lord Lovat anew, that he might abſolutely depend upon her friendſhip.

In reality from that time the counteſs de la Roche acted towards lord Lovat as if he had been her brother, rather than her friend and relation by marriage. She was indeed extremely capable of rendering him the moſt eſſential ſervices. She was not only upon good terms with the miniſters, but alſo with all the princes and princeſſes of the blood. She had been born and educated in the houſe of the *grand Condé*; and had ſerved for more than twenty years as lady of honour to the princeſs de Conti, daughter of that hero.

Aſſuredly the counteſs de la Roche was perfectly qualified to be near the perſon of a queen or a princeſs of the blood. She was endowed by nature with a maſculine and ſpirited

rited character, and was capable of affairs of the firſt order. She had but one paſſion: it was that of ambition. And ſhe would have arrived at the greateſt honours, if her ſtar had been as happy, as her genius was admirable. PART II. §. 4.

She had an acute and penetrating underſtanding; ſhe had read much, and was endowed with an aſtoniſhing memory. She was particularly acquainted with the conduct of ſuits at law, and the ſcience of an advocate, in which ſhe did not fall ſhort of thoſe, who had been regularly admitted in the parliament of Paris. It was this circumſtance, which made her the heroine of the great ſuit between the duke de Bourbon Condé, and his three ſiſters, the princeſs de Conti, and the ducheſſes de Vendôme, and de Maine.

To theſe rare accompliſhments ſhe united a diſpoſition, bold, politic and inſinuating, which frequently engaged her in the moſt delicate and hazardous intrigues of the court. But what rendered her agreeable to all the world, was an eaſy and aſtoniſhing eloquence, which captivated all who had the honour to know her, and was

PART II. §. 4.

the almoſt infallible inſtrument of her attaining thoſe points, which ſhe ſeriouſly and perſeveringly purſued.

1712. Lord Lovat had need of an advocate and friend not leſs able and ſincere than Madam de la Roche. Peace being made public between France and England, the king named the duke d'Aumont for his ambaſſador extraordinary to the court of London: queen Anne on her ſide appointed the duke of Hamilton to repreſent her to the moſt Chriſtian king.

The duke, as being brother in law to lord Athol, had become one of the moſt inveterate enemies of lord Lovat. He was conſidered as the leader of the tory party, and was in perfect good underſtanding with the court of St. Germains, who believed him ſtrenuous in his exertions for their reſtoration. Lord Lovat was with reaſon apprehenſive of the arrival of the new ambaſſador at the court of Verſailles. He believed, that, by uniting his efforts to the intrigues of the court of St. Germains, the duke would at length obtain of the court of France the great object of which his enemies

mies never loſt ſight, his impriſonment for life. PART II. §. 4. 1712.

Agitated by theſe apprehenſions, lord Lovat wrote his ſentiments upon the ſubject to the counteſs de la Roche, aſſuring her, that he was reſolved to make his eſcape from France with whatever danger, rather than ſpend the remainder of his life in a priſon; and intreating her to obtain for him certain intelligence of the ſentiments of the court of France in his behalf.

The counteſs failed not to ſound the adminiſtration, and talked very ſeriouſly reſpecting him to the miniſter. She wrote to lord Lovat, as the reſult of her conference, that he had nothing to fear from the arrival of the duke of Hamilton; that, ſhould the ambaſſador demand it, the court of France would never commit lord Lovat to a cloſe impriſonment; that, on the contrary, the miniſter had promiſed to exert the influence he flattered himſelf he poſſeſſed with the duke of Hamilton, to reconcile him to lord Lovat; and that neither ſhe nor M. de Torcy entertained any doubt reſpecting their ſucceſs. This

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1712. advice afforded some degree of consolation to lord Lovat, but his fears were not entirely dissipated, till the public papers announced the fatal duel, fought at London between the duke of Hamilton and lord Mohun.

In the person of the duke of Hamilton lord Lovat saw the destruction of his most formidable enemy; but he was both touched and afflicted at his death. The duke was a man of high courage, and his personal qualities were such, that he might naturally have adorned the annals of his country, and been respected as a person of a superior order to the latest posterity. But his unparalleled avarice debased his character, annihilated all the fine qualities of his mind, and rendered him so unpopular with the whole body of his countrymen, and even with his personal friends, that there was nothing but the tragical manner of his death, which could have rendered his memory lamented in Scotland.

1713. After the death of the duke of Hamilton, lord Lovat believed that Athol would have less credit with the court of St. Germains. He therefore supposed he might easily make

PART II. §. 4. 1713.

make his peace with that court, or at leaſt obtain permiſſion to return to his own country. With this view he made freſh application to the court of France, in whoſe breaſt it was, to detain him in priſon, or to ſet him at full liberty.

He employed in this buſineſs a perſon for whom the marquis de Torcy, in whoſe hands he had always been, and who had given him ſucceſſive proofs of his goodneſs, had much regard and eſteem. It was abbé Pouget, a prieſt of the oratory, and the favourite and friend of M. Colbert, biſhop of Montpelier and brother to M. de Torcy. The abbé was a man of extenſive learning, but better qualified to correct and new model breviaries, a buſineſs in which he met with great ſucceſs, than to direct and manage intrigues of ſtate. Though he were a man of integrity, and by his labours very uſeful to his fraternity, he was at the ſame time ſo full of himſelf and his books, that he often preferred the applauſes of thoſe who flattered his publications to his own intereſts, always to thoſe of his friends.

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Lord Lovat had the misfortune to employ abbé Pouget, being drawn in by the boasts that he made of his extraordinary influence over the marquis de Torcy. In the room however of rendering any good offices to lord Lovat with that minister, he prejudiced him more in his good opinion, than the court of St. Germains had been able to do in the course of its persevering efforts. And this happened more from imbecility than malice: for lord Lovat has always believed, that the abbé was incapable of perpetrating a malicious action. His letters however, all of which are still in being, proved but too unquestionably how weakly he conducted himself in this affair.

Soon after his arrival at Paris M. Pouget wrote to lord Lovat, that he had an audience of the marquis de Torcy upon his account; that the minister had declared, he was persuaded of his innocence, and of his good and faithful services to his own king and to France, that this had engaged him constantly to enlist himself among his friends, that his misfortunes originated solely in the court of St. Germains, that, if that court were reconciled to

to him, the court of France would be willing and ready to give him his liberty and promote his intereſts, and that M. Pouget ought himſelf to wait upon the queen's adminiſtration, to learn decidedly what they had to alledge againſt lord Lovat; adding, that, if they could not prove ſomething eſſential againſt him, he would apply to the king his maſter, to releaſe him from priſon, and recal him to court. PART II. §. 4. 1713.

To this letter lord Lovat returned an immediate anſwer. He thanked abbé Pouget for the favour he had done him in ſpeaking to M. de Torcy; obſerving at the ſame time, that he was extremely mortified, that the marquis had made any thing that he ſhould do in his behalf, turn upon his being firſt juſtified by his inveterate enemies at the court of St. Germains. He told M. Pouget, that he was perſuaded of his zeal, and impreſſed with the warmeſt ſenſe of his exertions; but he intreated him not to expoſe himſelf, by interpoſing in his behalf with that court, till lord Lovat had firſt endeavoured to ſoften the averſion of the queen and her miniſter, by the counteſs de la Roche Millaye,

PART II. §. 4. 1713.

laye, and his other friends at the court of France.

He obſerved, that, if this previous ſtep were not taken, he would be obliged to hear an infinity of falſhoods and calumnies againſt him; that indeed he did not fear their making any impreſſion upon a man of his underſtanding and penetration, but that it might be injudicious, to reduce himſelf to the neceſſity of repeating to the marquis de Torcy, the fictions of lord Middleton and his creatures.

This reaſoning made no impreſſion upon M. Pouget. He replied, that his viſit to the court of St. Germains would be of the utmoſt uſe to lord Lovat; that for his own part, he did not entertain the ſmalleſt doubt of bringing over lord Middleton and his other enemies, and of making his peace with the queen; that in all events he had no miſchievous conſequences to apprehend from this ſtep, ſince the marquis de Torcy was already convinced of his loyalty and innocence. He therefore begged pardon of lord Lovat, for deviating in this inſtance from his inſtructions, and reſolutely taking a ſtep,

a ſtep, which could produce nothing but benefit. The truth is, the good abbé was ſo full of his own judgment and penetration, and ſo impatient of any delay in the pleaſure he propoſed to himſelf of preſenting his catechiſm of Montpelier, lately publiſhed, and which had ſo great ſucceſs in the world, to lord Perth and lord Middleton, that all the remonſtrances lord Lovat could make were incapable of diverting him from his purpoſe. PART II. §. 4. 1713.

His viſit produced all the ill effects that lord Lovat expected from it. Such was his agent's imbecility, that he was ſmitten in the extremeſt degree with the great compliments and high applauſes, that lord Perth and lord Middleton beſtowed upon his performance and abilities. In return, he could not refuſe to give implicit credit, to the calumnies they repeated to him againſt lord Lovat. Accordingly, he felt himſelf obliged to take a ſecond ſtep, more ſimple and more injurious than the former. He haſtened to the marquis de Torcy, to repeat to him, as facts, the evidence of which was undoubted, the deteſtable fictions that had juſt been communicated to him. That this

was

PART II. §. 4. 1713. was the caſe, is unqueſtionably certain from the letter abbé Pouget wrote to lord Lovat after his return from St. Germains.

He told his correſpondent, that he had been received in the moſt polite manner by lord Perth and lord Middleton; that he had found theſe two noblemen equally accompliſhed in ſcience and good breeding; that they had beſtowed unbounded commendations upon his performance, and had loaded his perſon with inſtances of their condeſcenſion. He obſerved, that in the mean time he was extremely ſorry to be obliged to tell lord Lovat, that he had heard and ſeen various things relating to him, which condemned him in the moſt unanſwerable manner, but the particulars of which he was not at liberty to diſcover, as they related to ſtate affairs. He added, that he was ſtill further mortified to be obliged to inform him, that, having waited upon the marquis de Torcy immediately after his return from St. Germains, he had found the opinion of the miniſter totally altered; M. de Torcy had aſſured him, that he was now perfectly ſatisfied of the guilt of lord Lovat, and abſolutely reſolved to have nothing more to do with his affairs.

The

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The abbé concluded, that he was *au deſeſpoir* to tell him, that, as he now ſaw him ruined without redemption, and for ever at the two courts, he muſt beg leave to decline any further concern, either directly or indirectly, in his affairs: that, as his friend, he thought himſelf obliged to obſerve, that lord Lovat had no other choice left, than to enter into a convent for life. Upon this ſubject the abbé made a ſermon, and with this moral wound up his letter.

Lord Lovat preſerves this epiſtle as one of the choiceſt morſels that all his adventures have afforded him. In the mean time it may be remarked, that fourteen days had not elapſed between the date of this letter, and that which M. Pouget had written, to tell lord Lovat, that the marquis de Torcy was convinced of his loyalty and innocence. And in this fortnight, in which ſo great an alteration had taken place in the ſentiments of M. de Torcy, it does not appear that any perſon had ſpoken to him in relation to lord Lovat, except abbé Pouget.

Lord

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Lord Lovat was extremely afflicted with the ill conduct of the abbé, and particularly mortified to perceive, that by his blunders he had loſt the friendſhip and good opinion of M. de Torcy. With regret he wrote upon the ſubject to the marquis; at the ſame time addreſſing a ſecond letter to the counteſs de la Roche Millaye, intreating her to endeavour to recover for him the acquittal and approbation, that had hitherto belonged to him in the judgment of M. de Torcy. He obſerved to the counteſs, that ſhe was acquainted with the real ſtate of every part of his conduct, and that the marquis ought rather to give credit to her repreſentations on the part of lord Lovat, than to what had been reported to him by the reverend father Pouget, who only retailed the accuſations of lord Middleton, his declared enemy.

The counteſs in return to this letter blamed lord Lovat for having truſted his affairs in the hands of an eccleſiaſtic, who was more fit to ſuperintend the diſcipline of a convent, than to conduct an intrigue of ſtate. At the ſame time ſhe intreated him not to be diſcouraged by his ill ſucceſs,

as

as ſhe did not doubt that ſhe ſhould be able to reſtore things to their former condition with reſpect to the marquis de Torcy. This aſſurance afforded ſome conſolation to lord Lovat; but he was ſtill in the higheſt degree anxious about his fate, and he longed with the extremeſt ardour to return to his own country. PART II. §. 4. 1713.

About this time the king beſtowed the abbey de St. Florent near Saumur, upon monſeigneur de Crillon, biſhop of Vence, and now archbiſhop of Vienne in Dauphiné. His reverence was therefore obliged to take a journey to Saumur, in order to be inducted into his appointment. Lord Lovat profited of this occaſion to make his court to this great prelate. He took the liberty to offer him his carriage, the biſhop having come by water to Saumur, and conſequently having brought no equipage along with him. M. de Crillon received lord Lovat with all poſſible politeneſs, and manifeſted great reſpect for him during ſome months that he ſpent at Saumur.

All who have the honour to be acquainted with the archbiſhop of Vienne, know that

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he is not leſs diſtinguiſhed by his perſonal merit, than by his illuſtrious birth. He is acknowledged by the whole kingdom, not more for a good theologian, than for an intelligent politician, and an able courtier. Lord Lovat knew that this prelate was the intimate friend of the marquis de Torcy, and of his firſt ſecretary, M. Adam. He had conducted the king's affairs in the ſtates of Provence for many years, and this province being in the department of M. de Torcy, that circumſtance gave occaſion to a great intimacy between the miniſter and the biſhop of Vence.

Lord Lovat, acquainted with theſe circumſtances, and being offered by this amiable prelate his good offices with M. de Torcy, earneſtly intreated him, when he returned to Paris, to ſolicit his recal to court, or the miniſter's permiſſion for him to return into his own country. The biſhop of Vence promiſed to exert himſelf for that purpoſe; and indeed, from the period of his reſidence at Saumur, he has always continued the ſincere and generous friend of lord Lovat. He ſpoke ſo often, and in ſo ſpirited a manner in his

favour to the marquis de Torcy, that the minister at length replied, "If lord Lovat has "property and relations in Scotland, as he "says he has; why, in the devil's name, "does he not go thither? He will never "experience any thing but disgrace and "persecution on the part of the court of St. "Germains, and the court of France will at "no time be able to serve him, in opposi-"tion to the king and queen of England, "and their minister." PART II. §. 4. 1713.

As the bishop of Vence did not think proper to write this last reply of M. de Torcy, he commissioned a gentleman of distinction, who lived at Saumur, and was then at Paris, to relate it by word of mouth.

The person intrusted with this commission was M. de Valliere, lieutenant to the marshals of France, and who had a very noble house in Saumur. He had done the king distinguished service, and had been governor of the town and castle of Annecy in Savoy during the last war. His brother, major general de Valliere, had been one of the best officers of foot in France, and was

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commander in chief of the forces in Savoy for many years. Upon his death he left one hundred thouſand crowns * to the governor of Annecy, and this legacy placed him in a condition to do perfectly well the honours of Saumur. He was extremely hoſpitable both to Frenchmen and foreigners, and he was the firſt perſon that took notice of lord Lovat upon his arrival. He afterwards rendered him eſſential ſervices, and continued his ſincere and intimate friend during the whole period of his exile.

As he was alſo the friend of the biſhop of Vence, who knew him for a man of honour and probity, this prelate did not heſitate, to intreat him to perſuade lord Lovat to follow the advice of the marquis de Torcy. M. de Valliere faithfully diſcharged his commiſſion, and as he was a man of great ſenſe and ingenuity, and lord Lovat was well ſatisfied of his good-will towards him, he was able fully to perſuade that nobleman to make a final effort, to eſcape from France, and be no longer the victim of an unjuſt and inexorable court.

* 12,500l.

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The counteſs de la Roche in the mean time wrote to him to have patience; that ſhe was taking meaſures to gain over the queen of England; and that he ought by no means to think of quitting France, without the permiſſion of the court of St. Germains, at a time when queen Anne was reſolved, and was taking every neceſſary meaſure to reſtore her brother to his throne. She added, that all the world believed, that the king would ſet out without delay for Scotland, where every thing was prepared to receive him; and that in ſuch a moment to paſs into that country without his permiſſion, muſt certainly produce irretrievable ruin.

In deference to the repreſentations of ſo reſpectable a friend, lord Lovat thought himſelf obliged to delay his departure for a ſhort time. Meanwhile he reſolved to ſend Mr. John Fraſer, his brother, immediately into Scotland, to put himſelf at the head of his clan, and to act for lord Lovat's intereſts, whatever might be the ſituation of the kingdom.

In purſuance of this determination he wrote an account of his deſign to the court

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of France. His brother at the ſame time wrote to lord Perth, that, having been ill treated in France for ten years, he was at length reſolved, whatever were the conſequences, to return to his own country, and to ſupport the rights of his birth and his family againſt every one who ſhould oppoſe them. Lord Lovat received no anſwer from the court of France. He therefore embarked his brother on board a veſſel bound from the port of Nantes to Edinburgh.

Soon after Mr. John Fraſer's departure, the counteſs de la Roche adviſed lord Lovat, that ſhe intended to paſs the winter at her caſtle of Gigieux near Saumur; that ſhe hoped he would ſpend ſome time with her in that place, and that then they would conſult together reſpecting what was proper to be done in his affairs.

At the very time this letter came to lord Lovat's hands, cardinal Gualterio, his great friend and patron, arrived from Italy; and a report was propagated, that he had come to France to receive the appointment of prime miniſter to the moſt Chriſtian king.

king. This intelligence gave new life to the hopes of lord Lovat. Sure he was, that, if cardinal Gualterio, his intimate friend and moſt unfailing protector, were declared prime miniſter of the kingdom, his recal to court would ſpeedily follow, and he ſhould infallibly make a brilliant fortune in France. PART II. §. 4. 1713.

Animated by theſe hopes, he diſpatched memorials ſtating the innocence of his conduct, and the barbarity of his enemies, to the counteſs de la Roche and the marquis de Callieres, intreating theſe two generous friends to addreſs the cardinal in his favour, and to put into his own hands a copy of his memorial.

In this paper lord Lovat took cardinal Gualterio himſelf to witneſs the rectitude of his moſt eſſential actions, from the day that he co-operated with his eminence in the project of Scotland, to the period of his diſgrace and impriſonment; and concluded with intreating the cardinal to obtain for him one of three things; his reconciliation with the court of St. Germains, the conſent of the king of France to his ſerving

PART II. §. 4. 1713. in one of his armies, or, laſtly, permiſſion to return into his own country and make his peace with the reigning government.

M. de Callieres, who was indiſputably the beſt friend in the world, ſpoke in a very earneſt manner to cardinal Gualterio in favour of lord Lovat. He wrote by Madame de la Roche, who came into Anjou, that his eminence had promiſed him, to go to Bar-le-duc, and to make a ſtrong repreſentation to the king of England, in order to obtain the recal of his lordſhip.

The counteſs de la Roche Millaye no ſooner arrived at her caſtle of Gigieux, than lord Lovat haſtened to pay his reſpects to her; and ſhe received him as if ſhe had been his ſiſter, rather than his friend. As ſhe had an infinite deal of wit and good ſenſe, her company was the greateſt conſolation lord Lovat could experience in the melancholy ſituation of his affairs.

Madame de la Roche now acquainted him in detail with her efforts in his favour at the court of St. Germains.

She

She had engaged her friend, father Chamillard of the ſociety of Jeſus, to gain over father Ruga, confeſſor to the queen, to exert himſelf to reſtore lord Lovat to her majeſty's favour. At the ſame time ſhe employed father Chamillard, to give a copy of lord Lovat's memorial to father Ruga, in order to have it preſented to the queen, and to learn her majeſty's ſentiments reſpecting it. PART II. §. 4. 1713.

Father Chamillard, indeed, who was couſin-german to the miniſter of that name, and a man of perfect politeneſs and good breeding, had written to lord Lovat, that he was extremely happy to have had this opportunity of ſhowing his eſteem for him; that he had given his memorial to father Ruga, with a proper recommendation and explanations, and that a few days after, that father told him, he had perfectly diſcharged his commiſſion in the affair. He added, that her majeſty had anſwered, that lord Lovat need only to have a little patience, that he was detained merely for political reaſons, and that every thing ſhould ſhortly be done for him that he could poſſibly wiſh.

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This anſwer afforded but ſlender conſolation to lord Lovat, the queen having employed nearly the ſame words in writing to the marquis de la Frezeliere ſix years before, without lord Lovat's having ever experienced any good effects from it.

To the account of her very friendly exertions in this affair, the counteſs de la Roche added a long and clear explanation of the deſigns of queen Anne and her miniſters, and above all of Harley earl of Oxford, to reſtore the young king of England to his throne. She obſerved that no perſon doubted of the auſpiciouſneſs of the event, unleſs ſome ſudden misfortune ſhould happen to queen Anne, or her miniſter; and that therefore lord Lovat would be an idiot to declare himſelf againſt this prince, at a time when all the world regarded his reſtoration as certain.

It was nearly at the ſame time that lord Lovat received many letters from a gentleman of his clan in London, to inform him, that, though his enemies were very powerful in the court of queen Anne, yet if he were

were willing to distribute a thousand crowns * among the secretaries of the earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke, he might, by their means, and by the management and intrigues of one Bromfield, a famous quaker, who had followed king James into France, and who was in a perfect understanding with lords Oxford and Bolingbroke, obtain his pardon. He asserted, that these ministers were endeavouring to enlist in their party the most powerful nobility in Scotland, to support the great design they had in hand; and that they would, of consequence, be extremely glad to engage lord Lovat in their favour, who was the head of one of the most considerable clans in Scotland. PART II. §. 4. 1714.

Lord Lovat replied, that, however favourable the situation of affairs might appear, he was well assured, that his enemies were so powerful in the court of queen Anne, that it would be vain to attempt any thing of the kind. In the mean time he added, that, if his relation thought money would effect the business, he was ready to give, not one, but two or three thousand crowns, whenever it should be completed, in order

* 125l.

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to convince his clan that he ſpared nothing, to return to his country, and to put himſelf at their head.

Some time after lord Lovat's relation adviſed him, that Mr. Bromfield had ſpoken in an urgent manner to lord Bolingbroke; that the miniſter had replied, that lord Lovat was conſidered as ſo ill diſpoſed towards the court of St. Germains, that he could not be truſted; but that, if he were deſirous of obtaining his pardon and the friendſhip of the Engliſh miniſtry, he could not do better than to put himſelf without delay at the head of his clan, and be the firſt to appear for his young ſovereign, in which caſe juſtice would infallibly be done him.

During this petty tranſaction lord Lovat received information from Mr. John Fraſer his brother in the north of Scotland, that the lairds of the highland clans, and the other friends of the pretender, were holding various meetings; that they had received, and diſtributed among them arms and ammunition; that they were preparing to embody themſelves; and that they expected with impatience the arrival of the pretender in the north, in order to range

range themſelves under his ſtandard. He related, that his clan had earneſtly preſſed him to inform lord Lovat, that they were extremely alarmed at all theſe movements in their neighbours, while they were yet uninſtructed what party to take; and that they moſt earneſtly beſought him to come and place himſelf at their head, now that they were upon the eve of a period when the whole kingdom would be full of war and confuſion. PART II. §. 4. 1714.

Till lord Lovat ſhould arrive, his brother intreated his directions in regard to the conduct he ſhould hold, ſince he found that the duke of Gordon, lord Athol, lord Mar, and other noblemen of the party of the pretender, and who had much influence at the court of queen Anne, had declared themſelves his enemies, and had given orders to all the troops in Scotland to take him, dead or alive, believing that he was inliſted in the party of Hanover, and had been ſent thither to ſupport that intereſt.

Lord Lovat adviſed his brother, ſince theſe noblemen perſecuted him in ſo cruel and unjuſt a manner, to throw himſelf

PART II. §. 4. 1714. himſelf immediately upon the duke of Argyle. There had been, he obſerved, from the earlieſt periods of hiſtory, a ſtrict alliance between the houſes of Argyle and Lovat: the only conduct therefore that was proper in the preſent ſituation, was to call upon the duke of Argyle to protect him and his clan; aſſuring him, in the name of their chieftain, that they would at all times be ready to hazard their lives with him, as their anceſtors had ſo often done with his. He declared, he was well ſatisfied, that the duke of Argyle, who was a nobleman of ſtrong underſtanding, great bravery and acknowledged merit, would not refuſe, in conſideration of the eſſential ſervices, which they had rendered to his anceſtors, and were capable of rendering to himſelf in this dangerous conjuncture, to take the family of Lovat and the clan of the Fraſers under his protection.

He concluded, that his brother ought not to be diſcouraged, that the times would ſoon be moſt favourable for them, that he would without fail haſten to join him, as ſoon as he could do it with the leaſt appearance of ſafety, and that he therefore earneſtly intreated him, to defend with firmneſs

firmneſs and reſolution his country and his clan till his arrival.

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While lord Lovat was in this extreme agitation, he employed an officer of the royal light horſe, his intimate friend, and to whom he had been firſt introduced by the counteſs de la Roche, to watch the return of cardinal Gualterio from Bar-le-duc, and to put into his hands a letter from lord Lovat, intreating his eminence to communicate to the bearer the final deciſion of that court reſpecting him. The name of this officer was M. de Grange Rouge, a man of courage and good ſenſe.

As ſoon as this gentleman knew that the cardinal was returning to court, and was aſſured that he would immediately ſet out for Italy, he repaired without delay to the royal apartments at Fontainebleau. Having found the cardinal, he took the liberty to requeſt a moment's audience. His eminence going aſide with him, M. de Grange Rouge put into his hands lord Lovat's letter, and ſaid as much as the ſhort time would permit in his favour.

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The cardinal whiſpered the officer, that he muſt beg of him to aſſure lord Lovat, that he was as much his friend as ever, that no man knew better than he the injuſtice that was done him, that he had ſpoken in ſtrong terms to the king of England at Bar-le-duc in his favour, but that things were not yet ripe for the reconciliation he ſo ardently deſired. He obſerved, that he was extremely ſorry not to be able to write to lord Lovat, but that the queen of England had preſſed and obliged him to promiſe that he would not. He however intreated the officer to give lord Lovat a verbal aſſurance, that his eminence would not forget him, that he begged him to have patience, that he would not fail to protect him, and that he would make his peace with the king and queen of England, when things ſhould be ſufficiently ripe for that purpoſe.

The officer replied, that he was told, his eminence was upon the point of ſetting out for Italy, and that then he would be at too great a diſtance to be able to ſerve lord Lovat. The cardinal ſaid, it was true he was going to Rome, but that he ſhould

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ſhould be equally, in Italy and in France, the miniſter of the king of England; and that it would not be leſs eaſy for him to reſtore the affairs of lord Lovat when abſent, than when preſent. His eminence then intreated him to make him a thouſand compliments on his part, and took leave of the officer with that complacent and affable manner which was natural to him.

M. de Grange Rouge, having received this anſwer from cardinal Gualterio, came by an ordinary leave of abſence to his eſtate in Tourraine. From thence he haſtened to wait upon the counteſs de la Roche at her caſtle of Gigieux, where he met lord Lovat and the marquis de Saché, the counteſs's ſon, who was upon a viſit to his own eſtates in Anjou and Tourraine.

This gentleman had no ſooner given an account of his commiſſion, than lord Lovat was perfectly convinced, that, ſince cardinal Gualterio had not been able to effect his reſtoration, he had nothing hereafter to hope from the courts of France, St. Germains and Bar-le-duc. He therefore endeavoured to perſuade madame

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de la Roche, that there was nothing left for him, but to return immediately into the highlands, whatever were the conſequence. The counteſs, who had much affection and regard for lord Lovat, ſet herſelf to oppoſe this deſign with much energy. She ſaid, with ſome heat, that it would be the extreme of madneſs to precipitate himſelf into Scotland in the midſt of danger, without having firſt obtained the conſent, either of the court of France, or the king of England.

M. de Callieres now wrote to madame de la Roche, that, notwithſtanding his ſincere efforts, he was not able at this time to obtain for lord Lovat, either his reconciliation with the court of St. Germains, permiſſion to ſerve in the armies of the king of France, or leave to return into his own country; that there was therefore no other part for him to take, but to wait with patience the deciſion of the fate of the king of England.

The counteſs put this letter into the hands of lord Lovat, and, conſidering it as a new reinforcement of her own ſentiments,

she repeated, that it was impossible to think of any other conduct, at a time when nobody doubted of his majesty's speedy restoration; adding, that, if he would yet remain a short time in France, she was persuaded that she should be able completely to restore him to the favour of both courts. PART II. §. 4. 1714.

Lord Lovat permitted himself to be influenced by the reasoning, and governed by the counsels of madame de la Roche. He spent a great part of his time at her seat till she set out upon her return to Paris, in Easter week, 1714. Some days after her arrival, apprehensive perhaps that lord Lovat might yet recur to his own ideas, she urged him by letter to have patience, and that she had no doubt but every thing would terminate in the most auspicious manner.

Lord Lovat was still agitated by the most tragical apprehensions on the side of Scotland, and with very feeble and glimmering hopes on the part of the two courts of France and St. Germains. In this situation he

PART II §. 4. 1714. was moſt agreably ſurpriſed to ſee one of the principal gentlemen of his clan, with a Fraſer, his attendant, arrive at Saumur about the beginning of July 1714. To have with him a man of courage and underſtanding, who had been conſtantly with the Frafers from the beginning of their troubles, and who could give him an exact and particular account of every thing that reſpected them, was a circumſtance, as happy, as it had been totally unforeſeen by him.

The gentleman in queſtion was James Fraſer of Caſtle Lader, ſon of Malcoln Fraſer of Culduthel, the head of a very conſiderable branch of the houſe of Lovat, which was compoſed of ſome of the braveſt gentlemen in the world, and had uniformly diſtinguiſhed itſelf, during the whole period of their preſent adverſity, by a zeal for the perſon and intereſt of lord Lovat. In this cauſe they had loſt their property, and were continually in danger of their lives. In ſpite however of theſe diſcouragements, and of the rigorous and unremitted ill treatment of lord Athol and Mackenzie of Preſtonhal, the uſurper of their clanſhip, they uniformly

uniformly perſevered in their original ſentiments. PART II. §. 4. 1714.

Mr. James Fraſer brought lord Lovat a letter from Mr. John Fraſer his brother, and the principal gentlemen of his clan; repeating anew their conſternation at his abſence, the fierce threats that were thrown out againſt them by the highland lairds of the Jacobite party, and their daily expectation of the arrival of their king from France.

James Fraſer obſerved to lord Lovat, that it was the opinion of the principal perſons of his clan, and of his other relations and friends, that he ſhould join himſelf to the duke of Argyle, in conſideration of the ancient friendſhip between their houſes; ſince, as the duke of Argyle was one of the firſt nobility in Scotland, and a general of high courage and reputation, there was no doubt he would always have a ſtrong party with him, and would be able to make good conditions for himſelf and his followers, whatever might be the revolutions of the government of the two kingdoms.

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James Fraſer added, that in paſſing through London he had ſeen ſir James Campbel of Arkinglaſs and Mr. John Forbes of Culloden, both of them members of the parliament of Great-Britain, and moſt affectionately attached to lord Lovat and his houſe. They proteſted to James Fraſer, that his chief had not in the world any other meaſure to adopt, than that of coming into that country without delay, to hold himſelf and his clan ready for the ſervice of the duke of Argyle, who was the only man in Great Britain, capable of ſupporting him againſt all his enemies. They propoſed to him to wait upon the duke: to which James Fraſer replied, that, though he had no inſtructions for that purpoſe, he ſhould be happy to pay his duty to his grace, or to receive from their mouths his grace's ſentiments on the ſubject of his chief, previous to his journey into France to attend him.

Sir James Campbel and Mr. Forbes of Culloden accordingly ſpoke to the duke of Argyle. They reported to James Fraſer the words of this nobleman, who intreated him to aſſure lord Lovat, that he was perfectly

fectly diſpoſed to render ſervice to him and his clan; that, the enemies of lord Lovat and the houſe of Argyle being the ſame, he could not do better than join himſelf to his party; and that, if he were willing ſeriouſly to reſolve to hazard his life and fortune with him, he proteſted upon the honour of a gentleman, that he would be equally faithful in return. Sir James Campbel and Mr. Forbes deſired Mr. Fraſer to report this meſſage to his chief, and warmly preſſed him to perſuade lord Lovat to take that party. PART II. §. 4. 1714.

Lord Lovat replied to the long and accurate detail of his couſin, that he was ſatisfied, the meaſure recommended to him by his clan, by his friends in Scotland, and at London, was the beſt he could adopt. He obſerved, however, that the execution was extremely difficult; that he was a priſoner in France, and could not leave it but at the imminent riſk of his life; that the court of St. Germains was inexorable towards him; and that the court of France would never grant him permiſſion to return, without the conſent of St. Germains.

ART I. §. 4. 1714. Mr. Fraſer obſerved to this, that he had found numbers, both Engliſh and Scots, who were continually going into Britain by order of the court of St. Germains and with the conſent of queen Anne; that lord Lovat ought therefore to try that court for the laſt time, and know, whether, after fourteen years exile and impriſonment, he might not at length be permitted to return to his own country. He added, that, if he pleaſed, he would carry his letters for that purpoſe to lord Perth, and his other friends and relations in France.

Lord Lovat conſented to the propoſal. He was willing, that his clan and his relations might have nothing with which to reproach him. He however begged his couſin to have patience, till he had previouſly acquainted with his intention the marquis de Torcy, the counteſs de la Roche Millaye, the marquis de Callieres, ſecretary of the cloſet to the moſt Chriſtian king, and M. de Roujeault, intendant of Rouen, his intimate friends, who were all at that time at Paris. He accordingly wrote by the firſt poſt after the arrival of Mr. Fraſer, informing them of that event, and that he

was

was going to send him immediately to court to acquaint the administration with the state of affairs in Scotland, and to endeavour to obtain leave to return to his clan, who demanded him with groans and tears. PART II. §. 4. 1714.

In ten days, the countess de la Roche dispatched M. de Grange Rouge post to Saumur, not daring to commit her sentiments to paper. She desired this officer to prevail on lord Lovat, by no means to send his relation to court: to represent to him, that the good understanding between the king of France and queen Anne was now at so high a pitch, that, if the court found any individual, that dared to move a finger to the injury of this harmony, or to excite troubles in Scotland, they would ruin that individual without redemption; that, if he had any regard for his life, his liberty or the repose of his friends, he must by all means keep himself easy and quiet, and send back his relation to Scotland without visiting the courts of France and St. Germains; that, if he ventured upon a step so pregnant with calamity, she must from that moment drop all correspondence with him, and beg him to return all her letters.

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Lord Lovat was greatly alarmed at this meſſage. He ſaw himſelf in palpable danger on whatever ſide he turned. Since however he had advertiſed the marquis de Torcy and his other friends, that he was upon the point of ſending to them his relation juſt arrived from Scotland, he reſolved at all events not to fail of his purpoſe. Nor was this his only motive. He was willing, that his relation ſhould be an eye-witneſs of the barbarous injuſtice of the court of St. Germains, and ſhould be able to give an exact account and an unqueſtionable teſtimony upon the ſubject, when he ſhould return to Scotland. He therefore prepared the neceſſary letters, and immediately diſpatched Mr. James Fraſer to Paris.

Mr. Fraſer waited according to his inſtructions upon the marquis de Callieres, and delivered his diſpatches. At the ſame time he thanked him, in the name of the whole clan of the Frafers, for the generous and perſevering ſervices that the marquis had rendered to their chief during his diſgrace, impriſonment and exile. M. de Callieres replied, that he was, and always had been the faithful friend of lord Lovat;

Lovat; that he perfectly knew his innocence, and the ſervices he had rendered to his king and the court of France; and that nothing but opportunity had been wanting, to ſhew the ſincerity of his affection by the moſt eſſential ſervices. PART II. §. 4. 1714.

Having peruſed lord Lovat's diſpatches, he added, that nothing could be done for his chief but by the motion and conſent of St. Germains; but that he would give him a letter to his friend lord Perth, deſiring that nobleman to write to the queen, who was at this time in the convent of Chaillot, and upon whom every thing depended for the releaſe and re-eſtabliſhment of lord Lovat.

Mr. Fraſer having received this letter, repaired to St. Germains, where he was extremely well received by the nobleman to whom it was addreſſed. Lord Perth, having read the letters of lord Lovat and M. de Callieres, proteſted that he had at all times been lord Lovat's friend; that he had ſuffered a great deal upon his account; but that that lord had taken ſuch accumulated ſteps againſt the intereſts of the king his maſter, that it was now too late, to think of undertaking to juſtify him.

PART I. §. 4. 1714. Mr. Fraſer replied, that lord Perth ought by no means to give credit to the enemies of lord Lovat, that nothing was more eaſy than to invent a thouſand calumnies againſt him, and that it was not very difficult to gain them a pretty general belief, while that nobleman was out of a condition to reply to them. "All this is true," ſaid lord Perth, "but the proofs I ſpeak of, ſo unqueſtionably eſtabliſh his uniform treachery to his king, and his rooted attachment to the party of Hanover, that no loyal ſubject acquainted with them, will ever dare to ſay a word in his favour. But I will make yourſelf the judge."

At theſe words, he turned to a bureau, and took out of one of the drawers two or three letters. Holding them in his hand, "Mr. Fraſer," ſaid he, "we have had but too many proofs of the determination of lord Lovat to deſert the party of the king. Here is the laſt, and the moſt unanſwerable. It is a letter that his beſt friend and near relation, the earl of Leven, who married his couſin, the ſiſter of the earl of Wemys, has thought himſelf obliged to ſend me, ſigned

" ſigned by his own hand, with advice of PART
" the tergiverſation of your chief; in order II. §. 4.
" that, by giving notice of it to the king, 1714.
" I might prevent its fatal conſequences.

" Lord Leven has foreſeen every objec-
" tion; and has therefore incloſed a copy,
" word for word, in French and Engliſh, and
" written with his own hand, of the letter
" lord Lovat ſent him by his brother,
" conceiving lord Leven to be ſtill attached
" to the intereſts of Hanover, as he was
" when he left Britain *. In this letter
" he

* The following is an extract of Macpherſon's Original Papers. The letter of lord Lovat correſponds in ſo many circumſtances, that it has been thought proper to inſert it. It is there ſaid to have been " inter-
" cepted and returned to St. Germains."

" *The earl of Middleton to the marquis de Torcy.*"

(TRANSLATION.)

March the 8th, 1711.

" It is long ſince my ſentiments of the pretended lord
" Lovat were known to you. An original letter, writ-
" ten by him to lord Leven, is come back to us from
" England. We have compared the hand-writing with
" that which we have from him; there is an exact re-
" ſemblance, and the ſubject and ſtyle do not belie their
" author.

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" he informs lord Leven, that, perceiving " that the pretender was reſolved to go " into Scotland, and that it was not poſſible " for himſelf to eſcape out of France, he " had

" author. I ſend you a literal tranſlation of it. Bal- " gony is my lord Leven's ſon ; the young man in the " highland dreſs, is lord Lovat's brother, who I believe " was in France. Here, ſir, is a ſpy of conſequence " unmaſked, and we know very well the means of pre- " venting this correſpondence for the future.

" *Lord Lovat to the earl of Leven.*

Auguſt 20th, N. S. 1709.

" My moſt dear lord,

" Though you neglect me very much, and that you " never ſend me any anſwer to my letters, yet the love I " have for your perſon and intereſt makes me embrace all " the occaſions I can find to ſerve you. As I told you " laſt year to take care of your affairs in Scotland, ſo I " tell you now not to be leſs diligent. I am informed " by ſeveral perſons, that there is a deſign of going to ſee " you towards the latter end of the campaign ; but I be- " lieve that depends upon the peace. If it is done, you " will ſee nobody ; but if the war continues, you will " moſt ſurely have the viſit that you miſſed laſt year. " If that happens, be fully perſuaded, that you will ſee " me ſoon after, to live and die with you, at the head of " ſome brave fellows, that will follow me in ſpite of all " mankind. I wrote, two months ago, to your lordſhip " by a French officer of the Engliſh guards. This letter " is only to acquaint you of the deſign in hand. If I " have entire certainty of the time it ſhould be executed, " I will

" had ſent to him his brother, whom he PAR
" calls the young highlander, that he had II. §. 4
" diſpatched to lord Leven about twelve 1714.
" years before with twelve attendants in
" highland dreſſes to demand of him a pa-

" I will ſend off the young lad to acquaint you, who
" was ſeven years ago in your houſe, with a belted plaid,
" with whom you left my dear lord Balgony to keep
" company to, till you came home. I think my letter
" will be plain enough to your lordſhip; and I beg you
" may believe me your faithful ſervant, and that I will
" be ſtill ready to venture, to the laſt drop of my blood,
" for you.

" In France.

" 20th Auguſt, 1709, N. S."

The reader will probably obſerve that lord Lovat has ſtated that the letter ſaid to have been written by him to lord Leven, was a copy, but that in the earl of Middleton's billet it is aſſerted to have been an original: a circumſtance, which, if completely eſtabliſhed, would tend to undermine the general credit of lord Lovat's narrative. To this point it may be worth obſerving, that it was not probable, that the marquis de Torcy, to whom a tranſlation was ſent, would ever call for the original and compare the hands. James Fraſer was not thus to be impoſed upon, and lord Perth was too honeſt a man to attempt it. If lord Middleton deſerved the character that is given him in theſe memoirs, he would not probably have ſcrupled the impoſition: and perhaps lord Lovat could not deſire to have the veracity of any particular fact brought to a more favourable teſt, than that of the general openneſs and ſincerity of himſelf and his antagoniſt.

" per

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"per of conſequence. He adds, that he "had ordered his brother to place himſelf "at the head of his clan to join the Hano- "ver intereſt, and he begged lord Leven "to protect him till his own arrival, con- "cluding, that in the mean time he would "ſend him from time to time, as he had "already done, every information reſpecting "the deſigns of the court of St. Ger- "mains.

"What after this," added lord Perth, "can be ſaid in favour of lord Lovat? Read "yourſelf the Engliſh copy of lord Lovat's "letter, and the original letter of the earl "of Leven. Let your own eyes convince "you. Here are French copies of theſe "letters which have been ſhewn to the "court of France."

Mr. Fraſer, having caſt his eyes over the letters, replied, that it was eaſy for lord Leven to make his court to the king at the expence of lord Lovat, whom he knew to be diſgraced and in priſon; that his enemies might fabricate a hundred letters againſt him, without his being able to defend himſelf; and that for his own part, he

he was perſuaded the letter in queſtion had never originated with his chief. Lord Leven believed that the king was going to be immediately reſtored. What was more natural for him, than to endeavour to gain lord Athol, who boaſted that he was at the head of the royal affairs, by ruining lord Lovat, who was his capital and declared enemy? But this calumny was an action perfectly inconſiſtent with the character of a man of ſincerity and a man of honour. Mr. Fraſer therefore intreated lord Perth, to give no credit to an imputation, unſupported by the ſhadow of a proof, and brought againſt a man who had been perſecuted and oppreſſed for ſo many years; at the ſame time humbly intreating his lordſhip, to have the goodneſs to write to the queen in favour of his old friend, who had never done any thing to forfeit that title. PART II. §. 4. 1714.

Here I muſt beg leave to ſtop my narration for a moment, to remind the reader, that the earl of Leven could not poſſibly have any honourable motive for ſo ſtrange a conduct. Let us ſuppoſe for argument ſake that lord Lovat's letter was genuine. It muſt ſtill be granted, that lord Leven was

PART II. §. 4. 1714. one of the vileſt hypocrites upon the face of the earth, to endeavour, by betraying in ſo baſe a manner the moſt ſacred confidence, not only to ruin the reputation of a nobleman, a near relation of his counteſs and children, and his intimate friend; but even to expoſe his life to the moſt imminent danger. This very letter had been a principal inſtrument in the hands of the court of St. Germains, in their endeavours to prevail upon the government of France, to throw lord Lovat into perpetual impriſonment.

Indeed, notwithſtanding the circumſtantial manner in which Mr. James Fraſer related this incident, it was very long before he could convince his chief, that lord Leven was capable of ſo baſe a conduct. He recollected all that had ever paſſed between them. He called to mind the ſincere and eternal friendſhip, that had been a thouſand times mutually ſworn to by both of them. And he was ſatisfied, that in no inſtance had he ever in the minuteſt point infringed upon ſo ſacred a vow.

To the requeſt that Mr. Fraſer ſtill urged upon lord Perth, his lordſhip replied, "I "am

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" am ſatisfied that every thing I can either " write or do will be of no ſervice to your " chief; and that the king and queen are " both reſolved never to liſten to a ſyllable " that ſhall be ſaid in his behalf. But " ſince you aſſure me, that your clan of the " Fraſers, which has rendered ſo impor- " tant ſervices to their king and country, " will be totally ruined, if lord Lovat be " not at their head, I will write in his fa- " vour to the queen mother, to the king, " to ſir Thomas Higgins, ſecretary of ſtate*, " and to Mr. Innes, the almoner, who has " great aſcendancy over the king. You " may depend upon my rendering every " ſervice in my power to the family of " Lovat, and the clan of the Fraſers."

Mr. James Fraſer expreſſed himſelf in terms of gratitude to lord Perth for his kindneſs, and took leave of him. As he was quitting the apartment lord Perth added, " Perhaps you may have more ſucceſs in

* Sir Thomas Higgins ſucceeded lord Middleton in that office. The earl reſigned in the beginning of December 1713, but he appears for ſome time to have retained his connections and influence with his court.

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"your affair than I was apt to imagine. "We have this morning received intelli- "gence of the death of queen Anne; and, "if the news be confirmed, the king will "feel how uſeful lord Lovat may be to him "in Scotland, and this conſideration may "engage him to grant him his liberty." Mr. Fraſer anſwered, that, if queen Anne were dead, the king would find it his intereſt to recal lord Lovat to court, to do him ample juſtice, and to fix him in his party.

From lord Perth Mr. Fraſer went immediately to the queen at Chaillot, who without heſitation granted him audience, and gave him her hand to kiſs. When her majeſty had read lord Perth's letter, ſhe ſaid, "Lord Perth, I find, has ſhown you lord "Leven's letter, and has told you the rea- "ſons I have to complain of lord Lovat, "and how few motives to put any confi- "dence in him."

Mr. Fraſer took the liberty of obſerving to the queen, that her majeſty ought not to believe what the declared enemies of lord Lovat had invented againſt him; that nothing

thing was more eaſy than to write or ſpeak againſt his chief, when he was diſabled from defending himſelf, or juſtifying his conduct to her majeſty; that in fine, whatever fault lord Lovat might have formerly committed, her majeſty ought not to loſe a man, ſo neceſſary to the king's intereſts in Scotland, at a time when he had need of all his loyal ſubjects. PART II. §. 4. 1714.

At length the queen conceded, that, ſince the ſervice of the king demanded the releaſe of lord Lovat, ſhe would forget the many accuſations and complaints ſhe had to make againſt him, and would write to the king in his favour. At the ſame time ſhe commanded Mr. Fraſer to ſet out immediately for Bar-le-duc, as ſhe had juſt received a confirmation of the death of queen Anne, and it was probable the king would ſoon be obliged to quit Lorraine. This gentleman now took leave of the queen, who diſmiſſed him in the moſt obliging manner, wiſhing him every ſucceſs he deſired in the affair of lord Lovat, and telling him, that ſhe would have a letter at Bar-le-duc before him in his favour.

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Mr. Fraſer left the queen, well pleaſed with his audience. He wrote that very evening to lord Lovat at Saumur, congratulating him, that the queen was at length perfectly reconciled to him; that ſhe had written to the king her ſon in his favour, and that there was no longer any doubt of his obtaining his liberty in a very ſhort time. Lord Lovat was too much ſurpriſed with this good news to be able to give much credit to it.

Next morning Mr. Fraſer ſet out for Bar-le-duc; Mr. Hugh Campbel, ſon of ſir Archibald Campbel of Calder, doing him the honour to eſcort him a little way. About a league and a half from Paris they met a running footman, whom Mr. Campbel recollected to be in the queen's ſervice. At a ſhort diſtance behind were two gentlemen on horſeback; and after theſe followed a poſt-chaiſe, with the curtains drawn, and at a full gallop. Mr. Fraſer obſerved to his companion, that it was poſſibly the king, who was travelling with all expedition for England, on account of the death of queen Anne. Mr. Campbel replied, that that was impoſſible, that he

he could not have been ſo ſoon adverti ſed of that event, and that, if the queen mother had known that the king was ſo near Paris, ſhe would have told it to Mr. Fraſer, and ſaved him his journey. PAR II. §. 1714

Mr. Fraſer and his companion ſoon after ſeparated. And the former remained ignorant till he was within ten leagues of Bar-le-duc, that it was really the king of England whom he had met a league and a half from Paris. He now encountered a great number of gentlemen of his ſuite, who followed him in much confuſion; and who told him, that the king was ſet out for England, and that he might depend upon it that he would never return to Bar-le-duc.

Upon this intelligence Mr. Fraſer immediately returned. Near Paris he met ſeveral gentlemen, who aſſured him, that the king had held ſecret conferences with the marquis de Torcy; that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty had refuſed him either aſſiſtance or permiſſion to paſs into England; and that, after having ſpent two days with the queen his mother, he was upon his return

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for Bar-le-duc, to remain there till circumſtances ſhould be a little better prepared.

Mr. Fraſer was now convinced, that the queen had impoſed upon him, in bidding him ſet out for Lorraine, at a time that ſhe knew, the king her ſon was upon the point of arriving at Paris in his way to England. He went however to Bar-le-duc, in order to obtain the laſt anſwer of the prince reſpecting lord Lovat, whatever it might coſt him.

After enduring great fatigue he arrived at that place: but the king was not there. He had juſt ſet out for Luneville, the reſidence of the duke of Lorraine. Mr. Fraſer, although mortified at this diſappointment, proceeded immediately for Luneville, to have his audience of the chevalier de St. George; for this was the appellation the young prince had aſſumed in order to go incognito to the waters of Plombieres.

At Bar-le-duc Mr. Fraſer found doctor Innes, almoner to the king, doctor Leſly, a clergyman of the church of England, and

and colonel Scott, a Scotſman. He had letters for theſe three perſons, to engage them to ſolicit his affair. All three aſſured him, that he would have no ſucceſs in his enterpriſe, that the king could not bear ſo much as to hear lord Lovat named, and that he was determined never to receive him into favour, unleſs he were ſolicited to it by lord Athol.

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This information was not ſufficient to divert Mr. Fraſer from his purpoſe. He went ſtrait to Luneville, where he found the king, to whom the duke of Lorraine and all his court paid the ſame honours, as if he had been in actual poſſeſſion of the three crowns. Mr. Fraſer having delivered his letters to ſir Thomas Higgins, the ſecretary of ſtate, that gentleman introduced him to the king, who was walking in the gardens. The king received Mr. Fraſer in a moſt condeſcending manner. He gave him his hand to kiſs. He aſked him many queſtions reſpecting his journey; and particularly how he had been able to find his way ſo far without ſpeaking a word of French.

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They now entered the duke's palace: and the king having retired to his cloſet, ſir Thomas Higgins followed, and deſired Mr. Fraſer to accompany him. As ſoon as he appeared, the king, having read lord Perth's letter, ſaid, "I underſtand you "have been at Saumur to viſit lord Lovat." "Yes, ſire." "I am ſorry for it," ſaid the king. "I do not wiſh any of my "ſubjects to have any concern with the "man; and for my own part I cannot bear "ſo much as to hear his name."

Mr. Fraſer anſwered, that he was in extreme pain to hear the king ſpeak in this manner of the head of his family; and that he moſt humbly intreated his majeſty not to give credit to the calumnies, which his enemies had invented for the expreſs purpoſe of depriving him of the king's good opinion. His majeſty ought to recollect the ſervices lord Lovat had from his earlieſt youth rendered to his father. He ought to call to mind the loyal and illuſtrious actions of his anceſtors for more than twenty generations.

But this was not all. He would intreat the king, to attend to the ſervices which lord

lord Lovat and his clan were in a condition actually to render him in the preſent ſituation of his affairs. He aſſured his majeſty, that lord Lovat was a nobleman the moſt capable of advancing his intereſts in the north, where, in all appearance, the king would firſt think of forming an army. He obſerved, that lord Lovat was not only couſin german to the greateſt chiefs in the highlands, but related to and beloved by almoſt every clan in Scotland; that his own clan had always been regarded as ſurpaſſed by no other in courage; that its ſituation was ſo favourable, that it might be aſſembled in four and twenty or thirty hours, while almoſt every other clan was ſo ſcattered, that it could ſcarcely be aſſembled and conducted to the low country near Inverneſs, in leſs than a month; that on the contrary, the clan of lord Lovat ſurrounded the lake; and that, if his majeſty loſt lord Lovat and his clan, he would loſe the key to the whole north of Scotland.

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The king replied, he was determined never to grant lord Lovat any ſhare in his con-

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confidence; nor on this account, would he loſe the clan of the Fraſers; he was well and authentically informed, that the Fraſers would pay much reſpect to the recommendations of lord Athol, and that they would aſſemble under the orders of Mr. Mackenzie of Preſtonhal (who, in compenſation for pretended debts, had held the eſtates of lord Lovat ſince his reſidence in France), and join the ſtandard of that nobleman.

Mr. Fraſer rejoined, that people were much to blame to deceive his majeſty in ſo groſs a manner; that the clan of the Fraſers would never take the field but under the command of lord Lovat; and that, if Preſtonhal were mad enough to put himſelf at their head, he would be ſo ſaluted with muſket bullets, that light would be ſeen through every part of his body: that the Scottiſh clans were ſo much attached to their natural chiefs that they were not only ready to obey them in oppoſition to the lairds their neighbours, but in defiance of all the kings upon the face of the earth. This remark was confirmed by

ſir

ſir Thomas Higgins, who obſerved, that it was well known, the clans would never follow any perſon but their natural heads. PART II. §. 4. 1714.

Upon this the king flew into a paſſion, and told Mr. Fraſer that he would give the clan of the Fraſers any other head, any other commander they pleaſed; but that he would never be reconciled to lord Lovat, nor admit him into his favour. Mr. Fraſer replied, that he was then very ſorry to ſay, what he thought it his duty to obſerve, that, unleſs he firſt gave liberty to lord Lovat, and ſent him among them, his majeſty muſt never hope to have the Fraſers under his ſtandard.

To this the king anſwered with an air of indignation; "Talk to me no more of the "man. When I come into Scotland, I "will head the Fraſers myſelf, and I am "very ſure they will follow me. In the "mean time I command you, to return "directly to Scotland with all the ſpeed in "your power, without going near lord "Lovat or the city of Saumur; and to "aſſure the Fraſers of my friendſhip and "pro-

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"protection, and that I myself will be "their chief."

He afterwards asked several questions, respecting the nature of the country in the north of Scotland, the best season for landing there, and the quantity of provisions the country could furnish for the subsistence of an army. He commanded Mr. Fraser to tell his loyal subjects, that he expected to have been among them before this time; that it was not his fault, that he had not passed into Britain immediately upon the death of his sister, the princess of Denmark; but that the king of France had refused him the necessary succours. "You may however "assure them, that I will be in the midst "of them at a time when they least think "of it." He then gave Mr. Fraser different messages for persons whom it is of no consequence to name in this place. Afterwards he presented him his hand to kiss, and Mr. Fraser took his leave.

Having left the closet, Mr. Fraser waited in the antichamber for sir Thomas Higgins, who remained a little time with the king after that gentleman had left him. When

When they joined, Mr. Fraſer ſaid, "I am "obliged, ſir, to tell you, who are the "king's ſecretary of ſtate, that his ma- "jeſty is ill adviſed; and that he will "one day curſe the counſellors, that en- "gaged him to treat lord Lovat, who was "capable of rendering him more eſſential "ſervices than lord Athol and all his con- "nections, in ſo unworthy a manner. The "king is extremely miſtaken in imagining, "that the Fraſers will follow him, at a "time when he holds their chief in priſon. "He may remain aſſured, that the Fraſers "will follow lord Lovat againſt all the "princes upon earth; and he will find no "more reaſon to doubt, that in loſing "them, he has loſt the beſt feather in his "wing." PART II. §. 4. 1714.

In order however to obtain the liberty of his chief, Mr. Fraſer propoſed one expedient more. He ſaid he was ready to return into Scotland, and would undertake at the peril of his head, in leſs then two months, to bring over to the king an engagement, ſigned by the moſt potent chiefs in the highlands, by which they would ſtake their lives, and all

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all that they had for the loyalty and good ſervices of lord Lovat, in caſe his majeſty would have the goodneſs, to releaſe and receive him into favour. At the ſame time he added, that for himſelf, he dared not ſet foot in his own country, till he had ſeen his chief, and communicated to him the reſult of the preſent negociation.

Sir Thomas Higgins admitted that the propoſal was extremely reaſonable, and offered immediately to mention it to the king. Saying this, he opened the door, and returned into the royal cloſet. He remonſtrated to his majeſty in a very ſtrong manner upon Mr. Fraſer's propoſal. But the king inſtantly replied, that if every nobleman in Scotland would engage himſelf for lord Lovat, he would never receive him into favour, till lord Athol deſired it. To this ſir Thomas Higgins obſerved, that lord Athol could never be expected to ſolicit the king for a man whom he conſidered as his declared enemy. Being thus cloſely preſſed, the king turned ſuddenly upon his heel, crying to ſir Thomas, "Tell me no more of the man."

Mr.

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Mr. Fraſer, who during this interval ſtood oppoſite to the door, ſaw the king turn his back upon ſir Thomas. When the miniſter came out, and related the king's anſwer, he therefore aſked pardon of ſir Thomas for the embarraſſment he had occaſioned; adding, that he would not attempt to open his mouth farther upon the ſubject, and was reſolved to quit Luneville early the next morning. Sir Thomas deſired him, in the mean time, to ſtep with him to his apartment.

The duke of Lorraine, having underſtood, that there was a gentleman from the highlands of Scotland arrived at his court to ſpeak to the king, begged his majeſty to order this highlander to dine with them the next day. The king immediately ſent to deſire ſir Thomas Higgins to ſtop Mr. Fraſer, who received the order with all the reſpect and ſubmiſſion that was due to it, and dined next day with his majeſty and the duke of Lorraine.

The duke, being informed, that the highlander had come from Scotland to Luneville

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neville on foot, and that he preferred that mode of travelling to riding on horſeback, preſumed that he did not know how to mount a horſe. The highlander offered, if his royal highneſs would permit him, to mount the beſt blooded horſe in his ſtables. Said the duke, "We are going a hunting after dinner, and I will provide "you with a horſe, in order to ſee an ex- "hibition of your ſkill."

The king, the duke and ducheſs of Lorraine, and the ladies of the court now prepared for the chace. They gave Mr. Fraſer the moſt vigorous horſe in their ſtables, and luckily ſir Thomas Higgins at the ſame time provided him with a very heavy and ſubſtantial pair of boots. Scarcely was he mounted, when the beaſt, who was perfectly ſavage and unbroken, made ſuch furious curvets, that he expected every moment to be cruſhed to death againſt the walls of the court. He had however been brought up a very good horſeman, and therefore kept his ſeat in a firm manner in ſpite of the viciouſneſs of his horſe, till the dogs had turned out the hare.

Then

Then Mr. Fraſer put ſpurs to his horſe, and preſently outſtripped the harriers. He turned the hare three or four times, and ſtruck him with a large whip that he carried in his hand. He leaped every hedge and ditch that came in his way; loſt his hat and his wig; and excited infinite laughter in all the court, who expected every moment that he would break his neck. The ladies however had not the pleaſure of ſeeing much of the hare, Mr. Fraſer having killed it in the beginning of the chaſe. PART II. §. 4. 1714.

Upon their return the duke of Lorraine obſerved to the highlander, that, ſince he was ſo good a horſeman, it would be pity that he ſhould return again into Scotland on foot: he would give him a horſe that ſhould enable him to perform his journey in a more agreeable manner. The highlander made a profound bow for his highneſs's generoſity. Mean while the ducheſs of Lorraine, having obſerved that he had ſmoked tobacco, had the goodneſs to make him a preſent of a very fine Hungary pipe.

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Next day he ſet out with his horſe and his pipe, highly charmed with the gracious manners of the duke and ducheſs of Lorraine, and the honours that had been paid him at their court, which is indeed an extremely polite one. Mr. Fraſer rode in two days from Luneville to Paris, and was two days more in travelling from Paris to Saumur, which together amounted to one hundred and forty leagues. He was however almoſt diſabled with the expedition he had made.

He had not judged proper to return to the courts either of France or St. Germains, being anxious to make his report to lord Lovat as ſoon as poſſible. He told him, that, ſo far from having been able to obtain his releaſe, he had found him to be ruined for ever with the king of England, inſomuch that all his friends in Scotland united would not be able to make his peace for him. He related what had paſſed in that buſineſs between him, lord Perth, the queen dowager, and the king. He obſerved, that as he underſtood from ſir Thomas Higgins, the king was reſolved to ſet out for Scotland in

the following month, which was October, and that, if he did not make his eſcape before that time, he muſt expect to be confined for life, and conſequently ruined without reſource, while his clan was diſperſed, loſt and annihilated for ever. PART II. §. 4. 1714.

From this moment lord Lovat thought no longer of any thing but quitting France as ſoon as poſſible. He conſidered however, that he had given his parole of honour in writing to the marquis de Torcy, that he would not leave the kingdom without the conſent of the moſt Chriſtian king. He knew that M. de Torcy, as his friend, had long wiſhed his return to his own country, as he was unable to obtain any kind of juſtice from the court of St. Germains. Lord Lovat therefore thought proper to write to the marquis, to acquaint him with the laſt act of cruelty and injuſtice of the court of St. Germains, and the king of England.

In his letter he obſerved, that he no longer thought even his life ſecure in France, while that prince, his mother or lord Middleton had any influence in it. He moſt

PART II. §. 4. 1714. humbly intreated M. de Torcy, not to regard his departure as a breach of his parole. He reminded him, that he had remained nine years before, and one year ſince the peace, a priſoner; that during this period he had every year demanded his liberty; or, if that were refuſed, to be brought to his trial in form for the treaſon, of which without the ſhadow of foundation he had been accuſed; but that he had been unable to obtain either the one or the other. He therefore added, that he was reſolved to go and hazard his life at the head of his clan, for the reſtoration of a houſe that he had ruined in the ſervice of the two courts; that he had nothing further to look for in France but a perpetual impriſonment; and that he would therefore take the ſilence of his excellency for a tacit permiſſion to return to the highlands.

Having diſpatched this letter, lord Lovat prepared in the beſt manner he could for his journey. Since however he was proſcribed in England and in Scotland, and a price ſet upon his head, he determined, before he expoſed himſelf by going into Britain,

Britain, to learn what the duke of Argyle, his brother the earl of Ilay, and his other friends, were willing to do for him. For this purpoſe he diſpatched one of his ſervants into England, with letters for the duke of Argyle, the earl of Ilay, and brigadier general Grant, his relation and neighbour. He requeſted to know, whether by their intereſt he could obtain his pardon from king George; promiſing, in that caſe, to return to his own province, to ſerve the government with all poſſible fidelity, and to live and die in their party. All that he deſired was to eſcape from the tyranny of the court of St. Germains, to find a quiet retreat in his own country, and to obtain the protection of the reigning prince againſt his enemies in Scotland. PAR II. §. 4 1714.

After having ſpent ten days in London, his ſervant returned poſt to Saumur without bringing any diſpatches in writing. He however aſſured lord Lovat, that he had ſeen the earl of Ilay; brigadier general Grant; the two ſecretaries of ſtate for England, lord Townſhend and general Stanhope; and Mr. Smith, father in law to

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brigadier Grant: that they had all directed him to aſſure lord Lovat that he had nothing to do, but to ſet out for England without loſs of time, and that as ſoon as he arrived his affair would be accompliſhed without difficulty: he had but one danger to guard againſt, that of being ſurpriſed upon the road; ſince, if he fell into the hands of government in his eſcape from France, he would be thrown into perpetual impriſonment, and ruined without redemption.

Mr. John Fraſer, his lordſhip's brother, at that time in London, and Mr. Alexander Fraſer, who ſolicited his affairs in that place, wrote him by poſt the ſame things that his ſervant had told him verbally, adding, that they had been particularly confirmed to them by brigadier general Grant. They therefore preſſed him to paſs into England without delay, for that nothing but his preſence was neceſſary to his ſucceſs.

Being alſo extremely urged by his couſin James Fraſer who was with him, and by his ſervant who had been in England, to ſet out without delay, for fear of being ſurpriſed

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priſed and impriſoned for life, lord Lovat at length reſolved to bid adieu to France. He left his furniture, and his other little property, in the confuſion that is inevitable in ſuch a conjuncture. About the twelfth of October 1714, under pretence of going to Rouen to pay a viſit to his intimate and venerable friend M. de Roujeault, intendant of that generality, he took leave of Saumur, attended by Mr. James Fraſer and two ſervants.

Since however he took with him the moſt valuable of his portable effects, packed in military cheſts and loaded upon horſes, it was ſuſpected by ſeveral perſons, that he was going to paſs into England, though there were only a very few of his moſt intimate friends that were privy to his deſign. The king's lieutenant at Saumur was upon a hunting party at ſome leagues diſtance, when lord Lovat left that place. At his return he was extremely alarmed at this event, though that nobleman had ſome time before ſpoken to him of his intention. It is ſaid, that he was ſo extremely apprehenſive of a reprimand from the court, that he diſpatched ſeveral perſons to arreſt lord Lovat upon the road.

PART II. §. 4. 1714. It is certain, that he wrote immediately to the marquis de Torcy, to acquaint him with lord Lovat's having eſcaped in his abſence; and to inform him, that it was aſſured he was about to paſs into England; that he had left Saumur with an intention to proceed to the houſe of M. de Roujeault at Rouen, and that therefore his excellency might take ſuch meaſures in the affair as he judged to be proper.

Lord Lovat knew nothing of what paſſed at Saumur after his departure. He had however originally been upon his guard againſt all ſorts of dangers. He travelled almoſt day and night all the way to Rouen, as if his enemies had been cloſe at his heels. Upon his arrival at that place, extremely fatigued with the bad roads of the province of Normandy, he repaired immediately to the houſe of his friend M. de Roujeault, of whoſe generous attachment he had too large and uniform an experience to conceal from him any part of his conduct.

Accordingly he made to him a faithful relation of the laſt inſtances of injuſtice and inveteracy

inveteracy of the court of St. Germains; adding, that he could no longer conſider himſelf as ſecure, either of his liberty, or his life in France. He communicated to him the promiſes that had been made by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Ilay his brother, and his other friends at London, that they would obtain for him the pardon and protection of king George upon his arrival, and his conſequent deſign of proceeding to that place. He intreated M. de Roujeault, to have the generoſity to procure for him the means of paſſing from ſome part of the coaſt of Normandy into England; as the journey from Rouen to Calais was long and dangerous, eſpecially on account of the baggage he had with him. PART II. §. 4. 1714.

M. de Roujeault replied, that he was ſorry lord Lovat was about to leave France in this manner, but that he could not blame him after the accumulated inſtances of ill treatment he had received from the court of St. Germains. He obſerved, that it was impoſſible for him to take any active concern in his eſcape; and that he could not avoid writing to M. de Torcy, to acquaint him

PART II. §. 4. 1714. him with his having been with him at Rouen. He therefore adviſed him to leave his baggage at that place, to be ſent to London in ſome Engliſh veſſel, and to make all the ſpeed he could, unincumbered, leſt he ſhould be arreſted before he had left the kingdom.

M. de Roujeault further recommended to him to go immediately to Dieppe; where he might poſſibly find an Engliſh veſſel ready to ſail, or if not there, at ſome other port upon the coaſt between Dieppe and Calais. He wiſhed him a ſafe voyage, and aſſured him of his unalterable friendſhip; but added, that he conſidered the undertaking as extremely hazardous, and was very anxious upon his account. Lord Lovat now took leave of M. de Roujeault, with tears in his eyes, deſtitute of all hope ever to ſee again this moſt generous friend. He conjured him however ſtill to continue to him a ſmall ſhare in his memory and good wiſhes.

Lord Lovat's ſervant, who was a Scotſman, found by chance the maſter of an Engliſh

Engliſh veſſel, who told him that he ſhould ſail for London in five or ſix days. In purſuance of M. de Roujeault's plan, he propoſed to this captain, to take on board the baggage of his maſter, who was an Engliſhman of quality; and, as he added, having found the captain in all appearance extremely zealous for the houſe of Hanover, a relation of the duke of Argyle, and a faithful adherent of king George. PART II. §. 4. 1714.

The captain replied, that, ſince his maſter was a friend to king George, he would ſerve him upon his knees. Satisfied therefore with his ſucceſs, the ſervant conducted him to lord Lovat's *auberge*. No ſooner was the man introduced to lord Lovat, than he began to pray God to bleſs him, as he was a friend to the great king George, his valiant ſovereign. Perſuaded by the warm and enthuſiaſtic manners of the captain, lord Lovat made him drink a health to the king and to the duke of Argyle, and without heſitation intruſted to him his baggage, not ſuffering himſelf in his haſte to take out of it a little box, containing a number of rings and other jewels of value.

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The captain now added that he had on board his veſſel ſeveral tons of wine, addreſſed to the earl of Halifax, and ſent by Mr. Arbuthnot, brother to doctor Arbuthnot, late phyſician to queen Anne. Lord Lovat was well informed, that Mr. Arbuthnot, who reſided at Rouen, was the confident of the court of St. Germains, and the man of his rank in all France, the moſt employed for the late king James and the chevalier de St. George. He therefore intreated the captain by no means to tell Mr. Arbuthnot, that a relation of the duke of Argyle had ſhipped his baggage on board his veſſel.

Having addreſſed his military cheſts to brigadier general Grant, and in his abſence to the duke of Argyle, he cauſed them to be put on board the veſſel; and, taking a receipt for them, he ſet out an hour after with all diligence for Dieppe.

Mr. Arbuthnot received information from the honeſt captain and an Iriſh factor of the name of Roſs, his interpreter, that lord Lovat had ſhipped his baggage on board their veſſel. He immediately ſent this intelligence

telligence to the court of St. Germains, who obtained without delay an order from the court of France to arreſt lord Lovat and ſeize upon his baggage. The order was forwarded by the marquis de Torcy to the duke de Luxembourg, governor of Normandy; who, as ſoon as he received it, diſpatched men different ways to take lord Lovat, and to ſecure his effects. PAR II. §. 4 1714.

Lord Lovat had happily paſſed into England before it was poſſible for theſe people to overtake him. His two military cheſts however were ſeized and conveyed to the caſtle of the duke de Luxembourg, where they were opened before his ſecretary; but there was not found in them any paper againſt the ſtate, as the court of St. Germains had given out. The duke de Luxembourg ordered them therefore to be immediately ſealed, and delivered over to Roſs, the Iriſh interpreter, to be forwarded with all ſafety according to their addreſs at London.

This wretch, who had probably no other means of ſubſiſtence than his villainy,

PART II. §. 4. 1714. broke open the ſeals of the duke of Luxembourg and the locks of the cheſts, and completely ſtripped them of their moſt valuable contents, together with the little caſket of jewels. Two months after, the cheſts were ſent by another veſſel and almoſt empty, ſo that lord Lovat received of all his baggage only a few ſuits of clothes.

Lord Lovat, knowing the danger to which he was expoſed, and finding no ſhip at Dieppe, left that place immediately; and travelled along the coaſt of Normandy, and from thence through Picardy, as far as Boulogne. During this journey he met with no opportunity of paſſing into England; and, not daring to go to Calais, he determined to ſail from Boulogne, whatever it coſt him. For this purpoſe he employed a man, to whom he had been recommended at Boulogne, to hire a ſmall ſmack to carry him to any part of England which it could firſt make.

This gentleman brought to him a ſeaman, who was accuſtomed to paſs and repaſs from England without being ſuſpected, becauſe

becauſe he was by profeſſion a fiſherman. Lord Lovat agreed with him to ſail immediately. This was accordingly done, and, after having been expoſed to a rough ſea during the whole night, he gained Dover with conſiderable trouble about ten in the morning, November the firſt, 1714. PART II. §. 4. 1714.

Lord Lovat met upon the quay with his couſin Mr. Alexander Fraſer, who ſolicited his affairs in London, and whom he had requeſted to meet him at this place. Having ſpent one night at Dover on account of his extreme fatigue, they ſet out next morning for London, where they arrived in two days.

Immediately upon his arrival lord Lovat diſpatched Mr. James and Mr. Alexander Fraſer to the earl of Ilay and brigadier general Grant. Brigadier Grant was delighted at lord Lovat's being arrived in good health, and haſtened immediately to wait upon him, and to aſſure him of every good office in his power. The earl of Ilay was very far from being equally pleaſed with the intelligence. It gave him much affliction and regret,

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regret, to see this nobleman once more in England without being yet in safety, even in respect to his life. He expressed the sincerest regret for his having quitted a regular pension in France, at a time that he had nothing to depend upon in Britain. He however promised to speak in lord Lovat's behalf that very evening to the king and the prince; and he desired the gentleman, who had waited upon him, to return next day to learn his majesty's answer.

When lord Lovat received this message, he began to repent having precipitated himself into so imminent a danger; there being a sentence of death in force against him in Scotland, and a price fixed upon his head, without having any thing to rely upon for his pardon, but a precarious promise from his friends. He was however too deeply embarked, to be able to draw back; and he finally determined, regardless of the consequences, to throw himself upon the protection of the duke of Argyle and the earl of Ilay, to live and die in their service, and to take no step in his affairs but by their concurrence and direction.

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The day following he received intelligence by the ſame perſons, that lord Ilay had ſpoken to the king and the prince, that both of them were well diſpoſed towards lord Lovat, but they had obſerved, that prudence demanded, that they ſhould require from that nobleman ſecurity for his future loyalty, before they granted him his pardon. Lord Ilay ſaid, that to comply with this requiſition, it was neceſſary to preſent an addreſs to the king in behalf of lord Lovat, ſigned by all his friends, who were well affected towards the preſent government; and that in this addreſs they ſhould enter into an engagement for the loyalty of lord Lovat, in any ſum the king pleaſed. He added, that he would draw up a ſketch of ſuch an addreſs as would be proper, which he accordingly did two days after.

With this addreſs lord Lovat diſpatched his couſin James into Scotland, to collect the ſignatures of his friends. No ſooner had he arrived in the county of Inverneſs where the eſtates of lord Lovat are ſituated, and declared his errand, than all the lairds, and in a word all the nobility, who were well

PART II. §. 4. affected to the government, not only of the county of Inverneſs, but of the county of Murray, the county of Nairn, the county of Roſs, and the county of Sutherland, vied with each other in giving in their ſubſcriptions.

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1715. Mr. James Fraſer carried the addreſs ſigned by the counties of Inverneſs, Murray and Nairn, and gave it into the hands of the earl of Ilay, who was then at Edinburgh. On the other hand, Mr. Monro, laird of Foulis, and colonel of the regiment of the Scottiſh guards, tendered it to the earl of Sutherland, lord Strathnaver, and the nobility of the counties of Roſs and Sutherland; and, after they had ſigned it, carried his copy to Edinburgh. Lord Ilay took with him theſe two addreſſes to London, where he arrived March the firſt, 1715.

From this moment lord Lovat believed, that his affair would be immediately expedited. But a new and unforeſeen obſtacle aroſe. The duke of Montroſe, ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, was gained, as it is ſaid, by the influence of the houſe of Athol and the money of Mackenzie of Preſtonhal.

He therefore earneſtly oppoſed himſelf to the pardon, and repreſented lord Lovat to the king as unworthy of his clemency. PAR II. §. 171

Lord Ilay was the greateſt and moſt refined politician in the iſland of Great Britain. Finding the ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland in his way, he thought proper to defer lord Lovat's affair, till, by his own influence, and that of the duke of Argyle, whoſe credit at the court of London was extremely high, he had gained the Engliſh miniſters, and by their means was able to ſet at defiance the duke of Montroſe and his intereſt.

Lord Lovat however was extremely mortified at this event. He had expected, that his affair would be completed the moment he ſet foot in England. Far from this, by the oppoſition of the duke of Montroſe, he was obliged to wait in London, from the cloſe of the month of October 1714, to the cloſe of the month of July 1715, with his brother, his two kinſmen and three ſervants, a circumſtance attended with great expence, and with not leſs anxiety and uneaſineſs.

In

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1715. In the mean time, about the fifteenth of July 1715, the court of London received intelligence from the earl of Stair, their ambaſſador to the court of France, that the pretender was upon the point of invading the three kingdoms, with the French fleet which had been employed for the reduction of Majorca. This alarm rouſed the diligence of lord Lovat's friends. They applied to the Engliſh miniſters; and, having obtained from them a promiſe that they would exert themſelves in the affair of lord Lovat, lord Ilay intreated lord Sutherland and brigadier general Grant, to preſent to the king the two addreſſes he had brought up from Scotland.

They were preſented on Sunday the twenty-fourth of July. The earl of Orkney, who was the lord in waiting, held out his hand to receive them from the king, according to cuſtom. The king however drew them back, folded them up, and, as if he had been pre-adviſed of their contents, put them in his pocket.

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